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His Royal Highness William Duke of Glocester.

Printted for M. Gillyflower, and L. Meredith.

THE

Royal Politician

REPRESENTED

IN

One Hundred Emblems.

Written in *Spaniſh* by

Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo,
Knight of the Order of St. *Jago*,
Plenipotentiary Ambaſſador

To the Cantons of *SWITZERLAND*,
At the Imperial Diet at *RATISBON*,
At the Famous Treaty of *MUNSTER*,
And of the Supreme Council of State for both the *INDIES*.

With a large Preface, containing an Account of the Author, his Works, and the Uſefulneſs thereof.

Done into *Engliſh* from the Original.

By Sir *JA. ASTRY.*

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for *Matt. Gylliflower* at the *Spread-Eagle* in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* And *Luke Meredith* at the *Star* in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, MDCC.

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TO

His HIGHNESS

THE

Moſt Illuſtrious Prince,

WILLIAM,

Duke of *Gloceſter.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

THE *Author of the enſuing Work, originally a* Spaniard, *was in his life-time, ſo highly eſteemed for his* Learning, Wiſdom, *and* Experience *in* State Affairs, *that he made no ſmall Figure in the greateſt* Courts *of* Europe. *Nor has this Off-ſpring of his Brain met with leſs favourable* Succeſs. *For having*

A *been*

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been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, and in each often printed, it has been received with great Applauſe, and ever been honoured with the Protection of ſome Illuſtrious Young Prince.

But Precedent, Royal Sir, *is not my only Apology for this Preſumption; for were* Saavedra *now living, he might ſee his Theory reduced to Practice by the beſt of* Kings, *in the beſt of* Governments: *And though he has indeed given you excellent* Maxims, *ſupported by many eminent* Examples, *yet are there none ſo worthy your Imitation, as thoſe you may continually obſerve, in the Conduct and Bravery of that moſt Excellent* Prince, *your* Heroick *Uncle; the whole Series of whoſe Life as far ſurpaſſes Panegyrick, as the Greatneſs of his Soul abhors Flattery. And I was the rather induced to attempt this unpoliſhed Verſion, knowing that honeſt Plain-dealing and unbiaſſed Integrity, the two darling Miſtreſſes of our Author, could not be unacceptable in a Nation where they are ſo generally beloved, and in a Court where they are beyond*

Precedent,

Precedent, more peculiarly cheriſhed and maintain'd.

Your Royal Highneſs *will here find Diſcourſes, which I hope will not only be divertive to your Youth, but profitable even in your ripeſt Years; by reviving thoſe Seeds of* Honour *and* Virtue, *which are daily ſown by the pious Care and Example of Your moſt Illuſtrious Parents. You may here learn, not only the Duty of a* Prince, *but that alſo of an accompliſh'd* States-Man *and* Loyal Subject: *And if ever it ſhall pleaſe God to make You his Vicegerent, You may from hence (next to the Holy Scriptures) learn your Duty to him alſo,* by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Juſtice.

In fine: You have here a Compleat Syſtem of Religious Politicks, *which may guide You through all the Labyrinths of Government in this World, and crown You with immortality in that to come. But, pardon me,* Royal Sir, *I preſume not by this Addreſs to think, but that the niceſt Strokes of our Author come far ſhort of Your* Highneſs's *blooming Virtue, but as near as Per-*

fection can be copied, this Work has a Right in Your Royal Highneſs, *it ſhewing not ſo much what You ſhould be, as (if we may Judge the enſuing Day by the Glorious Morn) what You will be, the beſt of Princes.*

But here I beg leave to retire, having already waded out of my Depth, Your Highneſs's *Praiſes being a Topick ſo profound, that in attempting them, I ſhould only trouble the* Stream *without hopes of ever plumbing the* Bottom. *The main Motives to this Dedication, were thoſe two inherent Paſſions of Mankind, eſpecially Writers,* Intereſt *and* Ambition; *the firſt in Regard to this Work, which has need of no leſs a Name, than that of Your* Royal Highneſs *to protect it; the laſt in reſpect to my ſelf, having none greater than to ſubſcribe my ſelf,*

Your Highneſs's moſt Faithful

and moſt Obedient Humble Servant,

J. A.

The Author *to the* Reader.

IN the toilsome Leisure of my continual Travels over *Germany*, and several other Countries, I compos'd these Hundred Emblems; wherein you have an Idea of a Royal Christian Politician, penning them down at vacant Intervals. These I had meditated on in my Journeys upon the Road, as oft as that continual Intercourse I had by Letters with his Catholick Majesty and his Ministers, and other publick Concerns incumbent on me, gave me Time and Leisure. By Degrees the Work swell'd, and though I was well assured, it came far short of Perfection, as not being compil'd with that continual Application of Thought, nor with that Accuracy and Labour corrected, as was requisite to have render'd it agreeable in all its Parts, and an absolutely perfect Piece; and that it

would be thought Pride in me, to presume to prescribe Precepts to Princes (1): However, the Importunity of my Friends (who have ever great Influence over me) prevail'd upon me to publish it; in which also Self-love had some part, for we are generally as fond of the Products of our Brain, as of those of Nature. I write not this, *Reader*, to excuse my Errors, for that I can't do sufficiently, but that I may more easily obtain Pardon of those, who shall consider my Zeal, in having amidst such a Croud of Business, Fatigues, and Dangers, compil'd this Book, that if any Benefit might be reap'd from it, it might accrue to my Prince and Master; and least with me should die the Experience which I have acquir'd by a continued Exercise in Business for Four and thirty Years, which after five years Study in the University of *Salamanca*, I have pass'd in the principal Courts of *Europe*, always employ'd in Publick Affairs, having been at *Rome* at the Election of two Popes; at the Assembly of the Electoral Princes at *Ratisbone* when *Ferdinand* the Third, the present most August Emperor, was created King of the *Romans*; at Eight Diets in *Switzerland*; and lastly at the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbone*, being Plenipotentiary for the most Serene House and Circle of *Burgundy*. Wherefore, if any one of these Political Counsels or Precepts, shall be any ways beneficial to him who is happpily born to govern both the Old and New World, I believe this Attempt will be excus'd.

Nor should any one be disgusted at the Use of Emblems, since God himself is the Author of them. The Brazen-Serpent (2), The Flaming-Bush (3), *Gideon*'s Fleece (4), *Sampson*'s Lion (5), The Priests Garments (6), The Amours of the kind Spouse (7), What are they else but Emblems?

It has been my chiefest Endeavour to have the Invention new; whether the Performance be answerable

(1) *Præcipere qualis debeat esse princeps, pulchrum quidem, & generosum, & prope superbum.* Plin. Jun. lib. 3. Epist. 18. (2) Numb. 21. (3) Exodus 3. (4) Judges 6. (5) Judges 14. (6) Exodus 28. (7) Song of Solomon.

I know

I know not. There have been many Ingenious Men, who have wrote upon the ſame Subject, and 'tis very obvious for different Perſons to Jump upon the ſame Thoughts; which has been my Fortune, having afterwards met with in other Authors, thoſe Emblems which I at firſt thought my own Invention, which I therefore thought fit wholly to omit, not without Prejudice to my Deſign, for my Predeceſſors have made uſe of ſeveral Figures and Motto's, which has oblig'd me to take up with others leſs proper.

Alſo ſome Political Precepts, which though my own, as to the Invention at leaſt, yet I have found ſince to be of other, and far more ancient Authority: I have therefore Inſerted the Authors Names in the Margin, that due Honour may be paid to Antiquity. 'Twas the Happineſs of the Wits of former Ages, that they could engroſs from their Poſterity the Glory of Invention. I have made it my Deſign and Care, to Interweave this Web with ſome Threads of *Cornelius Tacitus*, without doubt the moſt accompliſh'd Maſter of Princes, and who moſt judiciouſly penetrates their Nature, and the Cuſtoms and Intrigues of Courts, as alſo the Miſcarriages and Succeſs of Governments; with Precepts and Sentences taken from this Great Man, as with my Hand, I lead the Prince whom I would mould by theſe Emblems, that he may without danger, gather Flowers tranſplanted hither from anothers Garden, and purg'd from the Venom and Thorns which their native Soil frequently ſubjects them to, or the rankneſs of thoſe times produc'd. In this Second Edition, I alſo illuſtrate the principal Maxims of State, with Proofs from Holy the Scriptures; for thoſe Politicks which are refin'd in that Furnace, may be truly call'd, Silver try'd and refined ſeven times in the Fire of Truth (8). And who would learn of a Heathen, or Impious Perſon, when the Holy Spirit is ſo ready to give Inſtruction?

(8) *Pſalm* 12. 7. The Words of the Lord are pure Words; as Silver tried in a Furnace of Earth, purified ſeven times.

In explaining the Emblems, I am not too prolix, that the *Reader* may not loſe the Satisfaction of diſcovering their meaning of himſelf. If by Chance, in my Diſcourſe, I ſprinkle a little Learning, it is not out of Oſtentation, but to enlighten the Prince's Mind, and render the Inſtruction more agreeable.

The whole Work conſiſts purely of State Maxims and Rules, thoſe being the fitteſt Materials for ſuch a Politick Building; however I don't barely propoſe them, but intermix them with the whole Diſcourſe, applying them all along to particular Caſes, to avoid the Danger of general Precepts.

It has been alſo my Endeavour to render the Stile polite, but without Affectation; ſhort too and conciſe, but not obſcure; which in *Horace*'s Judgment was a difficult Matter (9), and of which I have not yet ſeen an inſtance in the *Caſtillian* Language. I have however made an Eſſay towards it, knowing that what is written to Princes ſhould be neither idly Sententious, nor ſuperfluouſly Copious. Their time is precious, and he does not a little obſtruct the Publick Intereſt, who with empty and frivolous Diſcourſe diverts them from Affairs of greater Importance.

I don't ſo wholly confine my ſelf to the Inſtitution and Direction of Princes, but that I alſo deſcend to Governments, reflect upon their Growth, Preſervation, and Fall; and ſo to frame a Miniſter of State, and a prudent Courtier.

If at any time I am liberal of my Commendations of any, 'tis to excite Emulation, not to Flatter, to which I am very averſe; for it were a Crime unpardonable to publiſh to the whole World, Flatteries, and thoſe too engraven in Braſs, or to make my ſelf guilty of the very ſame thing, which I ſo much reprove and diſcommend in others.

If I ſpeak the Truth with too much Freedom, 'tis to be imputed to Ambition, which is ſo deeply rooted in Mens minds, that without Fire and Sword 'tis incurable.

(9) *Brevis eſſe laboro obſcurus fio*, Hor.

The

The Doctrine is general; but if any one ſhall from a Reſemblance of Vices, think himſelf levell'd at, or that what is blam'd in him is commended in others, 'tis not my Fault (10).

As alſo when I reprove Princes Actions, or reflect upon Tyrants, or only on the Nature of Sovereignty, it being no new or unuſual thing, for a good Prince to do ill, when either he is not clearly inform'd of the Truth, or governed by ill Counſellors.

The ſame I would have underſtood of Commonwealths, if in any thing I ſeem to diſlike them; for either my Reflections are upon what is very uſual in Communities, or at leaſt comprehend not thoſe crown'd and well conſtituted Republicks, whoſe Government is Generous and Royal.

I have us'd Examples, both Ancient and Modern; thoſe for their Authority, theſe partly as being more perſuaſive, partly too, becauſe by Reaſon of Propinquity of time, the State of Affairs is leſs altered, and conſequently may with leſs Danger be imitated, and a Prudent and Politick Judgment may more ſafely be formed thereon, which is the principal Advantage of Hiſtory. Nor is our Age ſo barren of virtuous and great Atchievements, as not to have furniſh'd us and our Poſterity with good Examples (11). Beſides, really it were black and envious in us to extol ancient, without the leaſt regard to modern Actions (12).

I am well aſſur'd, *Reader*, that Books of this nature which treat of State Affairs, are like † *Statues*, which in running at the *Quintin*, all aim at with their Lances, all ſtrike. I well know that whoever deſigns to be an Author, muſt ſubmit to the Black Ink, and Preſs of Detraction, (which I deſign'd to ſignify by this Emblem;) but withal I am not ignorant, that the blacker that Ink, with which the Letters are daub'd, and the cloſer the Preſs wherewith they are preſs'd, the fairer afterwards, and more conſpicuous they appear.

(10) Tac. 4. *ann. Qui ob ſimilitudinem altena malefacta ſibi objectari putant.* (11) Tac. 4. Hiſt. (12) Ibid. † *Eſtafermos.*

THE

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

I Will not endeavour with Rhetorical Flouriſhes to captivate any Perſon into a good Opinion of my Author, or his Work, being ſenſible I ſhould therein do an Injury to his Memory, who has ſo often declared his Averſion to Flattery. I only deſire the Reader *to remember always that he was by Birth a* Spaniard, *and though Educated in the Church of* Rome, *was by Profeſſion a Lawyer and Stateſman, who being generally wiſer, are leſs bigotted to the fooliſh Principles and Practices of that Religion. However, as I think it on the one Hand needleſs to vindicate the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Naſſau *from his partial Reflections, (which were modiſh in the* Spaniſh *Court when he wrote* (1)*) the whole World being ſatisfied in the Juſtice of their Cauſe, the Heroick Proſecution thereof, and what Additional Laurels they juſtly acquir'd thereby; ſo on the other ſide, I would not be thought to recommend his Religion either to Prince or People. We too lately eſcaped the Snare, to be again entangled with the Knaveries or Fooleries, to ſay no worſe, of the Church or Court of* Rome; *and next under God muſt own our ſole Deliverance to a Branch of that Ancient and Imperial Family, our preſent Gracious Sovereign.*

(1) The firſt Edition that I know of, was at *Munſter, Anno* 1642. which being near ſix Year before the Concluſion of the Peace there, may ſerve as ſome Apology for the Author's Reflections on the Princes of *Orange*, and other Heroes of the Adverſe Party.

Theſe

These Precautions being observed, I humbly presume this Book will be of excellent Use to all Ingenuous Persons of what Degree or Quality soever. For though by the Title it seems calculated for the Meridian of Kings and Princes only, yet it in some measure comprehends all Persons within the Circumference of their Dominions.

The Statesman and Politician may herein learn what Qualifications they ought to be endowed with for Negotiations, either at Home, or in Foreign Courts; how by avoiding the Vices usually attending their High Stations, and embracing the contrary Virtues, they may render their Actions meritorious to their Prince or Country.

The Officers and Soldiers of an Army may here without Danger behold the Methods and Stratagems their Predecessors have used to Conquer their Enemies, and learn that their greatest Interest consists in good Order and Discipline, and absolute Obedience to their Superiors, that Vice is as pernicious in a Camp as a Court, and that Bravery and Virtue in Conjunction merit the greatest Reward and Affection from their Prince or Country.

The Merchants and Seamen may here behold the vast Advantage, their Profession is to a Government, and how Ships are the Moveable Poles, on which the Stability thereof depends.

In fine, all Persons of Learning, Sense, or Reason, may from many excellent Precepts and eminent Examples contain'd therein, improve and refine their Talents to the greatest Advantage imaginable, remembring always my previous Caution to avoid some few mistaken Aphorisms of his Religion and Country.

Our Celebrated Author, Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo, *Knight of the Order of St.* Jago, *was Born of a Noble Family of* Murcia *in* Spain. *He was the Son of* Peter de Saavedra *and* Fabiana Faxardo, *who was also of Noble Extraction. He was Educated in the University of* Salamanca, *in the Profession of the Laws, wherein he became very Eminent, especially in those Parts thereof which are requisite for the Accomplishment of an Absolute Politician and Compleat Statesman. From thence he was chosen Secretary to Cardinal*

Gaspar

Gaſpar Borgia, *Vice-Roy of* Naples, *and ſoon after Reſident for his Catholick Majeſty at* Rome; *where his Conduct gain'd him ſo great Applauſe, that he was ſent on the ſame Imploy into* Switzerland: *After that, he was Plenipotentiary-Ambaſſador at two Imperial Diets at* Ratisbone; *and then commanded to aſſiſt* Don Gaſpar de Bracamont, *Count* de Pennecranda, *at the famous Treaty of* Munſter, *where he gave ſignal Demonſtration of his great Experience and Dexterity in the Management of the moſt difficult Affairs of State. At his Return he ſate in the Supreme Council for the Government of both the* Indies; *in which Imploy he died at* Madrid *in the Year* 1648. *All that I know more of him, you may find in his own* Preface, *to which, for brevity ſake I refer you* (2).

The greatneſs of his Perſonal Character and Reputation, and of this Book in particular, are too well-eſtabliſh'd in the World to require any Panegyricks on either; but if the Reader *deſire to ſee how this Work was admired by ſome of the moſt Learned of the Age, let him read the Epiſtles prefix'd to the* Latin *Verſion thereof. His Religious Temper more particularly appears in the great Veneration he always ſhews for the Holy Scripture, and his apt Application thereof; and his Politicks no leſs by being ſo well read in* Tacitus, *the Great Maſter thereof. Were that Excellent* Roman *now living, he could not but be pleaſed, to ſee the Roughneſs and Crabbedneſs of his Stile ſo finely poliſh'd, without Diminution to the profoundneſs of his Senſe and Judgment, in our* Engliſh *Verſion; though in the Annotations thereof, he would find himſelf Riva'l'd, if not excell'd by a Modern Politician. But there is no greater Argument to prove the general Approbation and kind Reception thereof, than the various Editions in ſeveral Languages, beſides the Original, as* Latin, French, Italian, Portugeſe, *and* High-German. *To enumerate the particular Times and Places of each Impreſſion would be ſuperfluous, were they all known to us. Let it ſuffice to inform you, that*

(2) Nic. Antonio's Bibliotheca Scrip. Hiſpan.
Miræus's Bibliotheca Eccleſiaſt.
Moreri's *Great Dictionary.*

the

the Impression of the Original we chiefly made use of in this Version, is the Fourth Edition, Printed at Valencia, 1660. *as being the most Correct we could meet with. He wrote also a Book, Entituled,* Corona Gothica, Castellanice, & Austriaca Politicamente Illustrada, *Printed at* Madrid, 1650. *though, as some say, he died before he had compleated it.*

And here I cannot but observe how disingenuous (to say no worse) the Italian *and* French *Translators, or rather Corruptors, of our Author have been, especially the last, who not content only to omit whole Pages and Sections, very material to the Purpose, have foisted in their own fulsome Flatteries instead thereof, basely perverting his very Sense and Meaning, to comply with the Interest and Ambition of particular Persons or Governments. So dangerous a Thing is Truth in some Nations. But we have chose rather to draw the Copy after the full Proportion of the Original, being satisfied we have the Happiness to live in so well Constituted a Government, and under so Excellent a King, that Truth and Integrity are now become the great Accomplishments of a Courtier.*

Our Author taking occasion so often to mention Alphonsus *the Wise, I presume it will not be thought unnecessary, or be unacceptable to some* Readers, *to give a short Account of him. He was the Tenth of that Name, King of* Leon *and* Castile, *and was also Sirnamed the Astrologer, and succeeded his Father,* Ferdinand *the Third,* 1252. *He made the Astronomical Tables, still Extant, which are called from his Name,* Tabulæ Alphonsinæ; *and 'tis certainly affirm'd, That he spent* 400000 *Crowns in the Composition of them. He refused the Imperial Crown of* Germany, *which was offered him after the Rejection of* Richard, *Duke of* Cornwall, *contenting himself only with the Title of Emperor, which some say he resigned to Pope* Gregory *the Tenth, whereof he repented, and would have reassumed the Imperial Title and Arms; but was deterred for fear of an Excommunication against him. He was successful against the* Moors; *but at length dethron'd by his own Son* Sancho, *and died for Grief in* Anno 1284. *In a great Sickness, after many*

Remedies

Remedies used in vain, he began to read Quint. Curtius's *History of* Alexander *the Great, which he did with so much Delight, that he recovered his Health; whereupon he said,* Farewell *Avicen, Hippocrates,* and the whole Croud of *Doctors,* give me my *Curtius* that hath saved my Life. *He had read the Bible fourteen Times, with several Commentaries upon it; he was a great Astrologer, and after he had deeply considered the Fabrick of the World, the following saying of his, reported by* Lipsius, *denotes him to have been none of the most Pious; viz.* That if God had advised with him in the Creation, he could have given him good Counsel (3).

By the Great Captain, often also mentioned, is meant Gonzales *of* Cordova, *who served under* Ferdinand *and* Isabella, *in the Conquest of* Granada, *and was very famous in his Time.*

It may perhaps, according to Custom, be expected we should give some Account of the present Performance; but that indeed is a very ticklish Point; for to Commend, or even Justify it would favour of Vanity; and to discover its Imperfections, would be very disobliging to our Friends, *the* Booksellers. *I shall therefore in the Words of an Ingenuous and Judicious Author* (4), *desire you to consider, That there are certain Graces and Happinesses, peculiar to every Language which give Life and Energy to the Words. And whosoever offers at a Verbal Translation, shall have the Misfortune of that Young Traveller, who lost his own Language abroad, and brought home no other instead thereof. For the Grace of the* Spanish *will be lost by being turned into* English *Words; and the Grace of the* English *by being turned into* Spanish *Phrase. However we have endeavoured to come as near the Sense of the Original, as we could, without offering to be* Fidi Interpretes, *that properly belonging to those who Translate Matters of Faith, or such Facts of Moment as have Relation thereunto.*

---

(3) Mariana Hist. Hisp. Turquet. Roderick Geneb. Spond. Bzovius.

(4) Sir *John Denham.*

The

The Reader *is desired to take notice that our Author, as all others of his Religion, makes use of the Vulgar Translation in his Quotations out of the Holy Scripture, which in many Places is so different from the* English *Version, that they are not applicable to the Purpose for which he Quotes them. For Instance the Seventy eighth Emblem is a Syren or Mermaid, and the Motto,* Formosa Superne. *In the beginning thereof, he quotes Isaiah* 13. 22. Et Sirenes in delubris voluptatis, *which we Translate,* and Dragons in their pleasant Places. *How beautiful they are, unless we do them wrong, I leave you to judge. The Fifty fifth Emblem, is a Hand holding a Scepter full of Eyes; the Motto,* His Prævide & Provide. *He there quotes* Jeremiah 1. 11. *where the Vulgar has* Virgam vigilantem ego video; *the* English, I see the Rod of an Almond Tree; *which literally taken, is little to his Purpose, and therefore we leave it in the Sense he took it. The Word in the* Hebrew, *is* Saked, *for an Almond Tree, and Verse the* 12*th*, Then said the Lord unto me, thou hast well seen, for I will hasten my Word to perform it. *The Almond Tree is there mentioned as an Emblem of Hast; the word* Saked, *an Almond Tree, alluding to* Sakad, *a Word which signifies making Haste. Nor is the Allusion frivolous, for* Pliny *says,* Floret omnium prima Amygdala, mense Januario, Martio veró Poma maturat. *Lib.* 16. *c.* 25. (5).

Now, if any Person thinks himself represented herein, and likes not his Picture, let him consider he sate not for it, and if he finds any Strokes too Bold, let him not blame the Artist, but amend the Original. As for that little Popery that is in it, it has been so solidly confuted by many Eminent Divines of the Church of England, *and so ridicul'd by others, that I presume, it cannot have the least Influence on the meanest Protestant of the Nation. In Answer to what he reflects on some of his Majesty's Heroick Ancestors, (if it may not rather be called an* Encomium) *I refer the* Reader *to that most Excellent and Unanswerable Apology,*

(5) Bochartus's Geograph. Sacra. Phaleg, lib. c. 1, Canaan, lib. 1, c. 35.

wrote

wrote by the Prince of Orange *himself, and published in all Languages. And for a Conclusion, accept of the following* Epigram, *by an unknown Hand, representing that Illustrious Prince, as Prophetically, speaking to* William *the Third, our present Gracious Sovereign.*

Nassovius Cœli miratus ab Arce Nepotem
Ad Summum tantis passibus ire Decus;
Macte, inquit, sanguis noster; tibi cedimus ultro,
Quandoquidem cedunt Terra Fretumque tibi.
Me Duce parta meis Libertas pristina Belgis,
Orbis Hyperboreus, te Duce, liber erit.

In *English.*

When Nassau *from the Skies beheld his Son,*
With such large Steps the Race of honour Run;
Proceed, my Boy, proceed with joy, said He;
I do, since Earth and Sea submit to thee.
I only to my Country *freedom gave,*
You will the Northern World *from Bondage save.*

THE

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OF

OF THE EDUCATION OF A PRINCE.

EMBLEM I.

VAlour is born, not acquired; 'tis an intrinsick Quality of the Soul which is infused with it, and immediately exerts it self: The very Mothers Womb was a Field of Battel to the Two Brothers, *Jacob* and *Esau* (1). Of *Thamar*'s Twins, one

(1) And the Children struggled together within her, *Gen.* 25.22.

by Nature more daring, when he could not be Born before his Brother, broke however the Ligature, and thrust out his Hand, as if he would snatch the Eldership from him (2). A great Soul exerts it self in the Cradle: *Hercules* Crowned by the Conquest of Two Serpents, from that day exposing himself to Envy, and making Fortune truckle to his Vertue. A generous Spirit is conspicuous in the very first Actions of Nature. The Infant of *Spain*, your Highness his Uncle of Blessed Memory, saw the Battel of *Norlinguen* almost even before he knew what War was, and even then knew how to Command with Prudence and Act with Vigour.

Cyrus, a very Boy when Elected King by those of his own Age, did in that Childish Government such Heroick Actions, as sufficiently manifested his secret Greatness of mind and Royal Genius, Natures most excellent Productions are themselves their own Discoverers. Amidst the rude and unrefined mass of Oar, the Diamond sparkles, and Gold glisters. The Young Lion as soon as whelp'd, views his Paws, and with a haughty Mein, shakes his curled Main scarce yet dry, as preparing to Fight. Childish Games, to which Princes are carried by a natural Impulse, are Signs and prognosticks of maturer Actions. Nature is never so much as a Moment idle, but from the very Birth of it's Off-spring is industrious in a regular Formation of its Mind as well as Body; for this Reason, she has stampt such an extraordinary Affection upon Parents to excite their Diligence in well Educating their Children; and least they should (which is no unusual thing) with a strange Nurses Milk, imbibe also her Vicious Practices, the same Nature, provident in her Distributions, has dispenced as it were a double Fountain of purer Blood, to supply them with Nourishment for their Young Ones: But either Idleness, or fear of

(2) And it came to pass when she travailed, that the one put out his hand first, *Genes.* 38. 28.

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losing their Beauty, is frequently the occasion why Mothers (not without considerable Detriment to the Commonwealth) neglect their Duty, and give the suckling of their Children to others; which Abuse, since it cannot so easily be remedied, at least great care should be taken in the Choice of them. *Let them be Healthy, of a good Family, and well bred; for as from the Conception to the Birth the Child is nourished in the Body of its Mother, so is it from its Birth till 'tis weaned, by the Nurse's Breast, and this last Interval being longer than the other, the Child must of Necessity imbibe more of the Nature of its Nurse than its Mother,* Says the Wise King *Alphonso*, who prescribed Laws to Heaven and Earth.

The Second Obligation Parents lie under, is the Education of their Children (3): there's scarce any Animal will forsake its Young Ones without Direction given how to provide for themselves. Nor are the Advantages of Education less considerable than those of Nature, and Children are more ready to embrace their Parents instructions and bear their Reproofs, than those of others (4): Those particularly who are nobly born disdain to be govern'd by their Inferiours. In a Childs first Procreation, it Received nothing from the Father but a Body, for God alone is the Authour of the Soul, which except the Father afterwards Cultivates and improves by Education (5), he will scarce deserve the name of a true and absolute Father. Nor is it new in holy Scripture for a Master to be called Father. For Example, *Jubal* the first Teacher of Musick (6). And who, I pray, is fitter to Teach his Son how to appear with Majesty, how to keep a Decorum in all things, Maintain his Authority, and govern his Subjects, than the Prince himself (7)? He only has the full practick

(3) Hast thou Children, instruct them. *Eccles.* 7. 23. (4) *Educati siquidem rectè à parentibus, per sanctos & justos mores boni merito evadent. Aristot. Oecon. lib.* 2. (5) Wisdom exalteth her Children. *Eccles.* 4. 12. (6) He was the Father of all such as handle the harp and Organ, *Gen.* 4. 21. (7) My Son, give me thine heart, and let thine Eyes observe my ways. *Prov.* 23. 26.

Knowledge of Government, which others know only in part and by Speculation: Nor without reason did *Solomon* boast that he Received great Improvement from his Fathers Instructions (8); however since Fathers sometimes have not themselves the Qualifications requisite for a good Education of their Children, or at least have not leisure to take that Trouble upon them, Masters must be looked for of an unblamable Life and Conversation; eminent withall for Learning and Experience (9); such as King *Alphonso* in his Laws describes in these Words. *So that for all these reasons, Kings ought to take great care of their Children, and to choose them Tutours of a good Family and good Livers, sound both in Mind and Body, and above all faithfull and just, firm to the Interest of their King and Country.* To which I add, that they ought to be Men of Valour and a great Spirit, well Experienced in Affairs, as well of Peace as War, such was *Seneca*, whom therefore *Agrippina* made Choice of for *Nero*'s Master (10). 'Tis impossible, without doubt, for a Man of an abject and mean Spirit to imprint on a Prince thoughts more sublime than his own. Were an Owl to instruct an Eagle, she would not teach her to look on the Sun, or soar above lofty Cedars; her School would be kept altogether in the dark, amidst the lower Branches. The Master's Image appears in the Scholar, and in him, he in a manner Represents himself. For no other reason did *Pharaoh* make *Joseph* Lord of his house, and Ruler of all his substance, but to teach his Princes to be like himself (11). Those who have the tuition and government of Princes Sons, ought to be as careful of their tender years, as Gardi-

(8) For I was my Father's Son, tender and only belov'd of my Mother; he taught me also, and said, Let thine heart retain my words. *Prov.* 4. 3. (9) *Quarendi sunt liberis Magistri, quorum & inculpata sit vita & mores.* Plut. de Educ. (10) *Utq; Domitii puritia tali Magistro adolesceret; & consiliis ejusdem ad spem dominationis uteretur.* Tac. 12. Ann. (11) And he made him Lord of his house, and ruler of his substance: To bind his Princes at his pleasure: and teach his Senatours wisdom, *Psal.* 105. 21, 22.

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ners are of their moſt delicate Plants, which even before they appear above ground; they ſecure with Fences to prevent their being injured, by treading on, or handling. On the firſt ſtroak depends the Perfection of a Picture, ſo does a good Education on what the firſt years have imbibed, before the paſſions get ſtrength and refuſe to ſubmit to reaſon (12). From a very minute Seed a vaſt Tree proceeds, which however ſmall a twig at firſt, and eaſily flexible every way, when 'tis inveſted with Bark, and has diffuſed it ſelf into Branches, ſtands immoveable. The affections in youth are not much unlike poiſon, which having once made its paſſage into the Heart, leaves the paleneſs conſequent to it incurable. Vertues that improve and increaſe with our Age have not only the precedency of others, but excell even themſelves (13). Of the four Winged Animals in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, the Eagle, one of that very number, was carried higher than all thoſe four (14), for becauſe ſhe as ſoon as hatcht began to have Wings, the others not till long after, ſhe not only appeared above them, but her ſelf too. For want of a ſuitable conſideration of this, I Imagine it is that many perſons uſually commit the Care of their Sons as ſoon as they come into the World, to Women, who with the idle fear of ſhadows, agreeable to the genius of their Sex, enfeeble their minds, and ſtamp other Effœminate paſſions on them, which with time take deep root (15). To avoid this inconveniency, the *Perſian* Kings Commited theirs to the care of perſons of worth and prudence (16). But above all, Children's natures are

(12) Bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the ſides while he is a Child, leaſt he wax ſtubborn, and be diſobedient to thee, and ſo bring ſorrow to thine heart. *Eccleſ.* 30. 12. (13) It is good for a Man that he bear the Yoke in his Youth, he ſitteth alone, and keepeth ſilence, becauſe he hath born it upon him, *Lam.* 3. 27, 28. (14) They four had alſo the face of an Eagle.-*Ezek.* 1. 10. (15) Train up thy child in the way he ſhould go: and when he is old he will not depart from it. Prov. 22. 6. (16) *Nutritur puer non à Matriere nutrice parum honorifica, verum ab Eunuchis, qui reliquorum circa Reem optimi videantur*, Plut. primo Alcib.

to be taken particular notice of, it being impoſſible without it to draw a true Scheme of Education.

Now no Age is more proper for it than their infancy, when nature as yet free from envy and diſſimulation (17), ſincerely diſcloſes it ſelf; when in their Forehead, Eyes, Hands, their Smiles and other motions of their Body, their paſſions and inclinations appear without diſguiſe. The Ambaſſadours of *Bearn* having power given them by the illuſtrious *William* of *Moncada* to Chooſe which of his Sons for their Prince they thought fit; upon obſervation, that Ones hand was Clinched, the others open, Choſe this latter, interpreting it to be a ſign of Munificence and Liberality, as it afterwards prov'd. If an Infant be of a generous and great Mind, at hearing his own commendations he ſmooths his Brows, looks pleaſantly and ſmiles; on the contrary, when diſcommended, he is concerned, bluſhes and caſts his Eyes on the ground; if of an undaunted Spirit, he looks ſtern, is not terrified with ſhadows or threats; if Liberal, he deſpiſes toyes and preſents, or readily parts with them again to others; if revengeful, he continues Angry, is all in Tears till he have ſatisfaction; if he be Cholerick, the leaſt trifle puts him in a heat, he lets fall his Brows, looks dogged, and threatens with his fiſt; if Affable, with a ſweet Smile and alluring Eye, he wins favour and acceptance; if Melancholy, he avoids Company, delights in ſolitude, is often complaining, ſeldom Laughs, and generally looks ſullen; if he be Airy, he unfolds the Wrinkles of his Forehead, and now gratefully fixing his Eyes ſeems to dart a pleaſing light, by and by with a kind of Complacency withdrawing them, and agreeably pleating his brows, betrays the Chearfulneſs of his Mind. Thus does the heart repreſent the other Vertues alſo, and vices in the face and exterior motions of the Body, till more cautious Age has taught it to Conceal them.

(17) *Juvenes non ſunt maligni moris, ſed facilis moris, propterea quod nondum viderunt nequitias.* Arist.

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In the very Cradle and Nurſe's Arms, the whole Court admired in your Highneſs, a certain natural pleaſantneſs and grateful Majeſty, and indeed that grave carriage and preſence of Mind which appeared in your Highneſs, when the Two Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon* took an Oath of Allegiance to you, exceeded the ordinary capacity of your years.

I would not have however, theſe reflections of mine upon infancy be look'd upon as infallible and without exception, for nature ſometimes deviates from her Common Road, and deceives the too curious Enquirer, there are ſome, who tho' vitious in their infancy, when at years of diſcretion take up and Reform, which happens perhaps, becauſe one of a great and haughty Spirit deſpiſes Education, and conſequently is ſubdued by his natural paſſions, while right reaſon is too weak to reſiſt them, till that getting ſtrength He acknowledges its errours and corrects them effectually: 'twas a cruel and barbarous Cuſtom therefore of the *Brachmans*, who either killed or expoſed their Children after they were Two Months Old in the Woods, if there appeared in them any tokens of an ill nature. As inhumane were the *Lacedæmonians* who threw theirs into the River *Taygetes*. Both ſeemed to make no account of Education, of right reaſon and free-will which uſually correct and regulate natural affections. This alſo ſeems unaccountable, when nature joyns ſome eminent Vertues with the moſt enormous Vices in the ſame perſon; as too different ſlips are often grafted upon two branches, which growing out of the ſame Root produce different, nay contrary Fruits, bitter and ſweet.

This was Viſible in *Alcibiades* of whom 'twas a queſtion whether he was more eminent for his Vertues or Vices. And thus Nature works 'ere ſhe has begun to know her ſelf, but reaſon afterwards and induſtry correct and poliſh her operations.

Laſtly ſince I propoſed to my ſelf by theſe Emblems to give an exact Model of a Prince from the Cradle to the Tomb, It won't be amiſs to accommodate my rudi-

ments and ſtile to each particular Age, as *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* have done. At preſent, I Adviſe that ſpecial Care be taken to render his Arms and Legs active by Exerciſe. If by chance any of his Limbs ſhould be crooked they may be ſtraightned by artificial Inſtruments (18). Let frightful ſpectacles which may injure the imaginative faculty be kept from him: Let him not be ſuffered to look aſquint at any thing: Uſe him gradually to the ſharpneſs of the Air, nor ſhould Muſick be Wanting to quicken his Spirits now and then: for whatever new thing Children meet with, that 'tis they admire, that makes the deepeſt Impreſſion on their Imagination.

(18) *Cæterum ne propter teneritatem membra torqueantur, nationes quibuſdam artificioſis inſtrumentis utebantur.* Ariſt. lib. 7. Pol. cap. 17.

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EMBLEM II.

WIth Pencil and Colours Art admirably Expreſſes every thing. Hence, if Painting be not Nature, it certainly comes ſo near it as that often its works deceive the ſight, and are not to be diſtinguiſhed but by the touch. It can't, it's true, animate Bodies, but it frequently draws the Beauty, Motions and Affections of the Soul. Altho' indeed it cannot intirely form the Bodies themſelves for want of matter, yet the Pencil ſo exquiſitely deſcribes them on Canvaſs, that beſides Life there's nothing that you can deſire more. Nature I believe would envy Art if ſhe could poſſibly do the ſame, but now ſhe is ſo kind, as in many things to uſe the Aſſiſtance of Art; for whatever the Induſtry of this can perfect, that Nature does not finiſh her ſelf. Thus we ſee man is born without any manner of knowledge or propriety of ſpeech, inſtruction and learning being left to draw the lineaments

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of Arts and Sciences on his mind as on a blank Canvaſs, and Education to Imprint morality thereon, not without great advantage to humane Society; for hence it comes to paſs that by One mans having Occaſion for the Aſſiſtance of another, the bonds of gratitude and affection are ſtrengthened: for Nature has ſown the ſeed of Vertue and knowledge in all of us, we are equally born to thoſe goods of the mind, which muſt be cultivated and quicken'd by ſome other hand (1). But 'tis neceſſary theſe meaſures be taken in the tender years, while the mind is fitter to Receive all manner of forms, ſo readily apprehenſive of ſciences as to appear rather to remember than firſt learn them; which *Plato* made uſe of as an argument to prove the immortality of the Soul (2); but if this be neglected in the firſt Age, the affections by degrees get ground, and their depraved inclinations make ſo deep an impreſſion upon the will as no Education can efface. The Bear no ſooner whelps but licking the limbs of her deformed Litter while they are ſoft, perfects and brings them to ſhape, whereas if ſhe ſuffered them to grow firm her pains would be ineffectual. It was wiſely done (in my Judgment) of the Kings of *Perſia* to Commit their Sons in their Infancy to Maſters, whoſe care it ſhould be for the firſt ſeven years of their life to Organize their Bodies: In the ſecond to ſtrengthen them by uſing them to fencing and the like Exerciſes. To theſe they after added four ſelect Perſons to give the finiſhing ſtroaks; the firſt eminent for Learning, made 'em Scholars; the ſecond a diſcreet, ſober man, taught them to govern and bridle their appetites; the third a Lover of Equity, inculcated the Adminiſtration of Juſtice; laſtly the fourth eminently Valiant and Experienced in Warfare, inſtructed them in Mili-

(1) *Omnibus natura fundamenta dedit, ſemenque virtutum, omnes ad iſta omnia nati ſumus; cum irritator acceſſit, tunc illa animi bona, velut ſopita excitantur.* Sen. Epiſt. 10. (2) *Ex hoc poſſe cognoſci animas immortales eſſe, atque divinas, quod in pueris mobilia ſunt ingenia, & ad percipiendum facilia.* Plat. de An.

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tary Discipline, especially endeavouring by incentives to Honour, to divert their minds from fear and Cowardice. But this good Education is particularly necessary in Princes as they are the Instruments of Politick happiness and publick safety. In others the neglect of a good Education is only prejudicial to single persons or at least influences very few: but in a Prince 'tis not only against his private, but every ones common interest, whilst some he injures immediately by his Actions, others by his Example. Man well Educated is the most divine Creature in the World; If ill, of all animals the most savage (3). What, I pray, can you expect from a Prince who is ill Educated, and has got the supreme power in his hands? other evils of a Common wealth are of no long continuance, this never terminates but with the Princes life. Of what Importance a good and honourable Education is, *Philip* King of *Macedon* was sensible, declaring in his Letters to *Aristotle* upon the Birth of his Son *Alexander* his Obligation to the Gods, not so much for giving him a Son, as that he was born at a time when he could make use of such a Master, and 'tis certainly never convenient to leave nature otherwise good, to her self and her own operations, since the best is imperfect and requires some external industry to cultivate it, as indeed do most things necessary for man's well being. The punishment derived to us by the fault of our first parents being not to enjoy any thing without labour and the sweat of the Brow, how can you expect a Tree to bear sweet fruit unless you transplant it, or by grafting it upon stems of a more refined and generous nature, correct its Wildness. Education improves the good and instructs the bad (4). This was the rea-

(3) *Homo rectam nactus institutionem divinissimum mansuetissimumque animal effici solet; si vero, vel non sufficienter, vel non benè educetur, eorum quæ terra progenuit, ferocissimum.* Plat. lib. 3. de leg. (4) *Educatio, & institutio commoda, naturas bonas inducit, & rursum bonæ naturæ si talem institutionem consequantur, meliores adhuc & præstantiores evadere solemus.* Plat. Dial. 4 de Leg.

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ſon why *Trajan* became ſo eminent a Governour, becauſe he added induſtry to his natural parts and had the direction of ſuch a Maſter as *Plutarch*. Nor had King *Peter* ſirnamed the Cruel, ever proved ſo barbarous and tyrannical had *John Alphonſo*, Duke of *Albuquerque*, his Tutor, known how to mollifie and break his haughty temper. There's the ſame difference in Mens diſpoſitions as in Metals, ſome of which are proof againſt fire, others diſſolve in it; yet all give way to the graving tools, are maleable and ductile. So there's no humour ſo rugged but care and correction may have ſome effect on. Altho' I confeſs Education is not always ſufficient of it ſelf to make men Vertuous, becauſe many times under Purple as among Briars and Woods, there ſpring up ſuch monſtrous Vices, particularly in perſons of a great Spirit, as prove utterly Incorrigible. What is more obvious than for young men to be debauched by Luxury, Liberty or Flattery in Princes Courts, where abundance of Vicious affections grow as Thorns, as noxious and unprofitable weeds upon ill manured Land. Wherefore Except theſe Courts are well inſtituted the care taken in a good Education will be to very little purpoſe; for they ſeem to be like Moulds and accordingly ſo Form the Prince as themſelves are well or ill diſpoſed, and thoſe Vertues or Vices which have once began to be in repute in them, their miniſters tranſmit to poſterity. A Prince is ſcarce Maſter of his reaſon when his Courtiers out of flattery Cry up the too great Liberty of his Parents and Anceſtors, recommending to him ſome great and renowned Actions of theirs, which have been as it were the propriety of his Family. Hence alſo it comes to paſs that ſome particular Cuſtoms and Inclinations are propagated from Father to Son in a continued ſucceſſion, not ſo much by the Native force of their blood, (for neither length of time nor Mixtures of Marriage are uſed to Change them) as becauſe they are eſtabliſhed in the Courts where Infancy imbibes them and as it were turns them into nature, thus among the *Romans* the

Claudii

Claudii were reputed Proud, the *Scipio's* Warlike, the *Appii* ambitious; as now in *Spain* the *Guſmans* are looked upon to be Good Men, the *Mendozas* Humane, the *Mauriques* have the Character of Formidable, the *Toletan's* Severe and Grave. The ſame is Viſible in Artificers, when any of a family have attained an Excellency, they eaſily tranſmit it to their Children, the Spectatours of their Art and to whom they leave their Works and Monuments of their Labour. To all this may be added, that Flattery mixt with Errour ſometimes commends in a Boy for Vertue what by no means deſerves that name, as Lewdneſs, Oſtentation, Inſolence, Anger, Revenge and other Vices of the like nature; ſome men erroneouſly perſwading themſelves that they are tokens of a great Spirit; which withall induces 'em too eagerly to purſue theſe, to the neglect of real Vertues: as a Maid ſometimes if ſhe be commended for her free Carriage or Confidence, applies her ſelf to thoſe rather than Modeſty and Honeſty, the principal good Qualities of that Sex. Tho' indeed young men ought to be driven from all Vices in general, yet more eſpecially from thoſe which tend to Lazineſs or Hatred they being more eaſily imprinted in their minds (5). Care therefore muſt be taken that the Prince over-hear no filthy or obſcene expreſſions, much leſs ſhould he be ſuffered to uſe them himſelf: We eaſily execute what we make familiar to us in diſcourſe, at leaſt ſomething near it (6). Wherefore to prevent this Evil the *Romans* uſed to Chooſe out of their families ſome grave Ancient Matron to be their Sons Governeſs, whoſe whole Care and Employment was to give them a good Education, in whoſe preſence it was not allowable to ſpeak a foul word or admit an indecent Action (7). The deſign of

(5) *Cuncta igitur mala, ſed ea maximè quæ turpitudinem habent vel odium parent, ſunt procul à pueris removenda.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17. (6) *Nam facile turpia loquendo, efficitur ut homines his proxima faciant:* Ariſt. Pol. 7. c. 17. (7) *Coram quâ neque dicere fas erat, quod turpe dictu, neque facere quid inhoneſtum factu videretur.* Quint. dial. de orat.

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this ſevere diſcipline was that their nature being preſerved pure and untainted, they might readily embrace honeſt profeſſions (8). *Quintilian* laments the neglect of this manner of Education in his time, Children being uſually brought up among ſervants, and ſo learning to imitate their Vices. Nor, ſays he, is any one of the family concerned what he ſays or does before his young Maſter, ſince even their parents don't ſo much inure them to Vertues and Modeſty as Laſciviouſneſs and Libertiniſm (9). Which to this day is uſual in moſt Princes Courts: nor is there any remedy for it, but diſplacing thoſe Vicious Courtiers and ſubſtituting others of approved Vertue who may excite the Princes mind to Actions more generous and ſuch as tend to true honour (10). When a Court has once bid adieu to Vertue, 'tis often Changed but never for the better, nor does it deſire a Prince better than it ſelf. Thus *Nero*'s family were Favourers of *Otho*, becauſe he was like him (11). But if the Prince cannot do this, I think it were more adviſeable for him to leave that Court, as we remember *James* the 1ſt. King of *Arragon* did, * when he ſaw himſelf Tyrannized over by thoſe who educated and confined him as it were in a priſon: nor can I give thoſe Courts any other name, where the principal aim is to enſlave the princes will, and he is not ſuffered to go this way or that by choice and at his own pleaſure, but is forcibly guided as his Courtiers pleaſe, juſt as Water is conveighed thro' private Channels for the ſole benefit of the ground thro' which it paſſes. To what purpoſe are good natural Parts and Education, if the Prince is

(8) *Quo diſciplina, ac ſeveritas eo pertinebat, ut ſincera & integra, & nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuſcujuſque natura toto ſtatim pectore arriperet artes honeſtas.* Quintil. Ibid. (9) *Nec quiſquam in tota domo penſi habet quid coram infante domino, aut dicat aut faciat; quando etiam ipſi parentes, nec probitati neque modeſtiæ parvulos aſſuefaciunt, ſed laſciviæ, & libertati.* Quint. ibid. (10) *Neq; enim auribus jucunda convenit dicere, ſed ex quo aliquis glorioſus fiat.* Eurip. in Hippol. (11) *Prona in eum aula Neronis ut ſimilem.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. * Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

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suffered to see, hear and know no more than his Attendance think fit? What wonder if *Henry* the 4th. King of *Castile* † proved so negligent and sluggish, so like his Father *John* the Second in all things, after he had been Educated among the same Flatterers that occasioned his Fathers male Administration? Believe me, 'tis as impossible to form a good Prince in an ill Court, as to draw a straight Line by a Crooked square: there's not a wall there which some lascivious hand has not sullied; not a Corner but Echoes their dissolute Course of Life: all that frequent the Court are so many Masters and as it were Ideas of the Prince, for by long use and Conversation each imprint something on him which may either be to his benefit or prejudice; and the more apt his Nature is to Learn, the sooner and more easily he imbibes those domestick Customs. I dare affirm that a Prince will be good if his Ministers are so; bad if they be bad: an instance of this we have in the Emperor *Galba*, who when he light upon good Friends and Gentlemen, was governed by them, and his Conduct unblameable; if they were ill, himself was guilty of inadvertency (12).

Nor will it suffice to have thus reformed living and animate figures in a Court, without proceeding also to inanimate: for tho' the graving Tool and Pencil are but mute Tongues, yet Experience has taught us they are far more eloquent and perswasive. What an incitement to Ambition is *Alexander* the great's Statue? how strangely do pictures of *Jupiter*'s lewd Amours inflame Lust? besides, for which our corrupt nature is blameable, Art is usually more celebrated for these kind of things than Vertuous instructive pieces; At first indeed the excellency of the workmanship makes those pieces Valuable, but afterwards lascivious persons adorn the Walls with them to please and entertain the Eyes. There should be no statue or piece of painting al-

† Mar. Hist. His. (12) *Amicorum, libertorumq; ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens: si mali forent, usq; ad culpam ignarus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

lowed,

lowed, but such as may Create in the Prince a glorious Emulation (13). The Heroick Atchievements of the Ancients are the propereſt ſubjects for Painting, Statuary and Sculpture; thoſe let a Prince look on continually, thoſe read; for Statues and Pictures are fragments of Hiſtory always before our Eyes.

After the Vices of the Court have been (as far as poſſible) thus corrected, and the Princes humour and inclinations well known, let his Maſter or Tutor endeavour to lead him to ſome great undertaking, ſowing in his Mind Seeds of Vertue and honour ſo ſecretly, that when they are grown it will be difficult to judge whether they were the product of Nature or Art. Let them incourage Vertue with Honour, brand Vice with Infamy and Diſgrace, excite Emulation by Example; theſe things have a great Effect upon all Tempers, tho' more on ſome than others. Thoſe who are of a Generous diſpoſition, Glory influences moſt; the Melancholy, Ignominy; the Cholerick, Emulation, the Inconſtant, Fear; the Prudent, Example; which is generally of moſt efficacy with all, eſpecially that of Anceſtors; for often what the Blood could not, Emulation does perform. 'Tis with Children as young trees on which you muſt Graff a branch (as I may ſay) of the ſame Father, to bring them to perfection. Theſe Grafts are the famous examples which infuſe into Poſterity the Vertues of their Anceſtors and bear excellent fruit. That therefore it may be conveighed as it were thro' all the Senſes into the mind, and take deep Root there, ſhould be the particular induſtry of his Inſtructors, and conſequently they are not to be propoſed to the Prince in ordinary Exhortations only or Reproofs, but alſo in ſenſible objects. Sometime let Hiſtory put him in mind of the great Atchievements of his Anceſtors, the glory of which eternized in print may excite him to imitate them. Sometimes Muſick (that

(13) *Cum autem ne quis talia loquatur prohibetur, ſatis intelligitur vetari, ne turpes, vel picturas vel fabulas ſpectet.* Ariſt. 7 Pol. cap. 17.

ſweet

ſweet and wonderfull Governeſs of the paſſions) playing their Trophies and Triumphs, will be proper to Raiſe his Spirits. Sometimes let him hear Panegyricks recited upon their Life, to encourage and animate him to an Emulation of their Vertues, now and then reciting them himſelf, or with his young Companions Act over their Exploits as upon a ſtage, thereby to inflame his mind: for the force and efficacy of the action is by degrees ſo imprinted on him that he appears the very ſame whoſe perſon he repreſents: Laſtly let him play the part of a King amongſt them, receive petitions, give audience, ordain; puniſh, reward, command or marſhal an Army, beſiege Cities and give Battel. In experiments of this nature *Cyrus* was educated from a little Boy and became afterwards an eminent General. But if there be any inclinations unbecoming a Prince diſcernible in his Infancy, he ſhould have the Company of ſuch as are eminent for the oppoſite Vertues to correct the Vices of his Nature; as we ſee a ſtraight Pole does the Crookedneſs of a tender Tree tyed to it. Thus if the Prince be covetous, let one naturally liberal be always at his Elbow; if a Coward, one bold and daring; if timorous, one reſolute and active; if Idle and Lazy, one diligent and induſtrious: for thoſe of that Age as they imitate what they ſee or hear, ſo they alſo eaſily copy their Companions Cuſtoms. To Conclude, in Education of Princes too rough Reprehenſion and Chaſtiſement is to be avoided as a kind of Contempt. Too much Rigour makes men mean ſpirited; nor is it fit, that he ſhould be ſervilely ſubject to One Man, who ought to Command all. It was well ſaid of King *Alphonſus*, *Generous Spirits are ſooner corrected by words than blows, and love and reſpect thoſe moſt who uſe them ſo.*

Youth is like a young horſe that the Barnacle hurts, but is eaſily governed by the gentler Bit. Beſides that men of generous Spirits uſually conceive a ſecret horrour of thoſe things they learnt thro' fear; on the contrary have an inclination and deſire to try

thoſe Vices which in their Childhood were prohibited them. Affections too much confined (eſpecially ſuch as nature endows a Prince withall) break out at laſt into Deſpair, as Exhalations hard bound within the Clouds, into Lightning. He that imprudently ſhuts the gates upon natural inclinations, is the occaſion of their attempting to get thro' the Windows. Some allowance is to be made to humane infirmity, which is by ſome innocent diverſions to be raiſed to Vertue: this method they took who had the Care of *Nero*'s Education (14). The Tutor ought to chide the Prince in private, not before Company, leaſt he rather grow obſtinate when he ſees his Vices are publick. In theſe two Verſes of *Homer* is very aptly contained how a Prince ought to be inſtructed how to obey:

Adviſe, Command him, and what's good ſuggeſt
He will obey when for himſelf 'tis beſt. Hom. 2. *Il.*

(14) *Quo facilius lubricam Principis ætatem, ſi veritutem aſpernaretur, voluptatibus conceſſus, retineret.* Tac. 13. ann.

EMBLEM III.

BY the induſtry of ſome ingenious and carefull hand one while watering, another time defending it from the injuries of Wind and ill Weather, the Roſe grows, and as the Bud opens unfolds its little leaves into a circular form: A flower ſtrangely pretty, but which flatters only the Eyes, and is ſubject to ſo many caſualties, that in this its infinite delicacy 'tis by no means ſecure. The very ſame Sun which ſaw it bloom, ſees it alſo whither, and that without any other benefit, than juſt ſhewing the World its beauty; it brings ſo many months Labour to nothing, nay oftentimes wounds the very hand that planted it; nor could it be otherwiſe than that ſuch rank tillage ſhould produce thorns. Of Coral (a Sea ſhrub) there's quite another account to be given; for that growing under Water, and continually toſſed by the Violence of

Waves and Tempeſtuous Winds becomes ſo much the harder and more beautiful; nay, then firſt is it more illuſtriouſly uſeful, when it has underwent the rage of ſo many Elements. Such contrary Effects ariſe from the different manner of growing of this Shrub, and that Flower in reſpect of ſoftneſs and hardneſs. The ſame happens in the Education of Princes, for they who are brought up ſo tenderly and cloſely that neither the Sun, Wind or other Air can come to them, but that of perfumes, prove too delicate and little fit for Government; they on the contrary are ſtrong and able who inure their Bodies to laborious Exercises. It's alſo convenient to uſe ones ſelf to Cold from our infancy as a thing of great advantage to health, and that will enable us to undergo Military duties (1). By theſe Exerciſes Life is prolonged, by Voluptuouſneſs and Luxury ſhortned. a Veſſel of Glaſs formed with a blaſt of the Mouth, is with a blaſt broken; Whereas one of Gold wrought with a hammer reſiſts a hammer. 'Tis no matter if he that lives a private and retired Life, be delicate; but one who is to ſupport a Kingdom, as *Atlas* the Heavens, upon his ſhoulders, had need be ſtrong and robuſt. A Common-wealth has not occaſion for a Prince only for a ſhew, but in the Field alſo and in time of War, and in Scripture we find an effeminate King mentioned as a kind of divine puniſhment (2). The advantage or diſadvantage of this different Education was viſible in the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Ferdinand* the Catholick, one of which had his at Court, the other in the Camp; that among Women, this among Soldiers; that entring his Government ſeem'd to ſail into a ſtrange Gulf, and leaving the Helm, committed the guidance of it to his Miniſters; this was neither ignorant of, nor unacquainted with Govern-

(1) *Eſt etiam utile ſtatim ab ineunte ætate frigoribus aſſueſcere, hoc enim tum ad valetudinem, tum ad munera militaria commodiſſimum eſt.* Ariſt. Pol. 7. cap 17. (2) I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes to rule over them, *Iſai.* 3. 4.

ment;

ment; but knew how to Rule even in another's Dominion, and force Subjects to their Duty; that was contemn'd, this honoured and esteemed by all; that ruined his Kingdom, this advanced to a Monarchy. 'Twas upon this consideration that King *Ferdinand* Sirnamed the holy, was desirous to breed his Sons, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand*, Soldiers. And what else was it rendred the Emperour *Charles* really great, as well as titularly so? was it not his continual Travels and indefatigable Labours? Nor had *Tiberius* any other thoughts when he design'd his Sons *Germanicus* and *Drusus* for the Army, chiefly for these four Reasons; that they might accustom themselves to War; gain the Soldiers hearts; be free from the Debauchery of the Court; and Lastly that himself might live in more security when both his Sons commanded his Legions (3).

He that lives in a Camp, by the many Experiences he has there, spends his time to advantage; the Courtier utterly loses his in Riot, Ceremonies and trifling Diversions. At Court a Prince studies more how to set off his Body than improve his Mind. And tho' this latter is rather to be regarded, yet Ornaments of the Body, and a comely Presence should not be wholly neglected. For those captivate the Eyes, as this does the Eyes and Soul. God himself seem'd pleased with the shape and proportion of *Saul* (4). *Ethiopians* and *Indians* in some parts choose them Kings, whom the most Majestick Mien recommends: as the Bees do the biggest among them, and that of the most shining Colour. People Judge of a Prince's Actions by his Presence, and think him the best who is the Comeliest. *Galba*'s very Age, says *Tacitus*, was ridiculed and scorn'd by those who were used to *Nero*'s

(3) *Ut sueseceret Militiæ, studiaq; exercitui pararet, simul juventutem urbano luxu laseivientem mediis in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutiorem rebatur, utroq; filio legiones obtinente.* Tac. 2. ann. (4) And when he stood among the people, he was higher than any of the people from the shoulders upwards, 1 *Sam.* 10. 22.

blooming Youth (5). A handſome face joyned with a kind of Majeſty encreaſed *Veſpaſian*'s fame (6). Thus Beauty ſtrikes the Eyes, and thro' them wounding the Soul engages Mens affections and good opinions: 'tis a particular privilege of nature, a pleaſing Tyrant over the affections and a certain Sign of a well diſpoſed mind; and tho' the holy Spirit for more ſecurity adviſes us not to judge by exteriours, yet do we ſeldom find a generous Soul in a deformed body (7).

'Twas a ſaying of *Plato*'s, that as a Circle can't be without a Center, ſo neither can external Beauty Conſiſt without interiour Vertue. King *Alphonſus* therefore well adviſed to have a Prince Marryed to a handſome Woman, *that* ſays he, *the Children may be beautifull as a Prince's ought to be, that they may be above other men.*

The *Lacedæmonians* fined their King *Archiadinus* for Marrying a little Woman, however Wittily he excuſed himſelf by ſaying. *of two Evils he had choſe the leſs.* Beauty of the Body is the image of the Soul and picture of Goodneſs (8). It nevertheleſs happens ſometimes that nature intent upon outward perfections forgets inward which are more deſirable. So it was with *Peter* the Cruel, whoſe ſavage and rough diſpoſition Nature had concealed under an agreeable Perſon. Pride and Oſtentation of Beauty eaſily diſcompoſe the Modeſty of Vertue; a Prince therefore ſhould not eſteem feminine and affected Charms, which ſerve only to inflame another's Luſt; but thoſe which uſually accompany true Vertue; for the Soul is not to be adorned with the Beauties of the Body, but this rather with the Ornaments of the Soul.

A Commonwealth requires a Prince perfect in mind rather than One ſo in Body; tho' twere a great orna-

(5) *Ipſa ætas Galbæ & irriſui & faſtidio erat aſſuetis juventæ Neronis, & Imperatores forma & decore corporis, (ut eſt mos vulgi) comparantibus.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (6) *Angebat famam ipſius decor oris cum quadam Majeſtate.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (7) Commend not a Man for his beauty, neither abhor a man for his outward appearance. *Eccleſ* 11.2. (8) *Species enim corporis ſimulacrum eſt mentis, figuraq; probitatis.* Ambr. 2. de vir.

ment

ment if he were eminent for both. Thus the Palm is singularly commended, as well for the neatness of its Trunck and Leaves, as for the pleasant Fruit it bears, and other excellent qualities of it, being a Tree so usefull, that *Plutarch* says the *Babylonians* reckoned 360 Vertues in it; these, I conceive, the Complement of the Cœlestial Bridegroom points at, *Thy stature is like to a Palm Tree* (9). For by these words he would commend not only the beauty of his Spouse's Body, but the endowments also of her Soul, signified by the Palm as 'tis an Emblem of Justice and Fortitude: of Justice because its leaves hang in æquilibrio; of Fortitude upon the account of the admirable strength of the Boughs, which the more weight they are loaded with, the more forcibly grow up. 'Tis further an Hieroglyphick of Victory, because in the Games and Exercises of the Ancients, the Victors were crowned with Branches of it. The Cypress was never esteemed at this Rate, however flourishing and green it always is, lifting its self even up to heaven in form of an Obelisk: for that its beauty is meer outside without any good quality inherent in it; it's of a slow growth, bears useless fruit, bitter leaves, has a strong smell and taste, a thick and melancholy shade. To what purpose is a Prince of a delicate Body, if he only satisfies the Eyes, and does not discharge his Duty. There needs no more in him than an agreeable harmony of parts to shew a generous and well .disposed mind, into which afterwards Art and Industry may inspire Motion and Vigour, for without that every Action of a Prince will be dull, and rather cause Ridicule and Contempt than procure Authority with his Subjects. But sometimes these extraordinary Endowments of the Mind don't render a Prince amiable, as when the State is distempered and inclined to Change its Government, which *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had once Experience of; nay sometimes Vertue her self is unhappy, and a good Prince

(9) Cant. 7. 7.

often odious; as on the other side his Vices taking, as were those of *Vitellius* (11). But for the generality humane Will embraces that which is most perfect; and it will be therefore a Prince's interest as well in publick as private Exercises, to study by them to supply and perfect Nature, to strengthen himself in his Youth, to create generous Thoughts in his Mind, and in all things to please the People: for the Person of a Prince should not only court the Minds but Eyes too of his Subjects (12), who choose to be governed by him in whom they see most Ornaments of Nature and Vertue. Our most Catholick King, Your Highness's Father, by the pains he took and resolution he shewed at a Chase, by his Valour and Dexterity in Military Exercises, his singular Carriage and Vivacity in publick Actions, what vast Reputation did he gain? How beloved by their Subjects, and esteemed by Foreigners were the Kings *Ferdinand* the holy, *Henry* the II, *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperour *Charles* the Vth. in whom Beauty and a just Proportion of Body were joyn'd with Industry, Vertue and Valour. But those Exercises are better learnt by Conversation and in Company, where Emulation enflames the Mind and awakens Industry. For this reason the Kings of the *Goths* Educated the Sons of the *Spanish* Nobility in their Courts, not only to lay an Obligation upon those Families, but that their own Sons might have their Education and learn the Sciences with them. The same those of *Macedon* used to do (13), among whom the Court was as it were a seminary of Commanders. Which good Custom is either utterly forgot, or at least has not been hitherto in Vogue in the Court of *Spain*. 'Twere otherwise the properest means in the world to engage the Hearts of foreign Princes,

(11) *Studia exercitus rarò cuiquam bonis artibus quæsita, perinde ad fuere quam huic per ignaviam.* Tac. 3 Hist. (12) *Persona Principis non solum animis, sed etiam oculis servire debet civium.* Cic. Phil. 8. (13) *Hæc cohors, velut seminarium Ducum, Præfectorumq; apud Macedonas fuit.* Curt.

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to institute Seminaries of that Nature, to which their Sons might travel and be instructed in Arts and Sciences worthy a Prince. From which also this advantage would arise, that the King's Sons would insensibly be accustomed to the Manners and Genius of those Nations, and meet with a great many among them, who with singular Affection and Gratitude for so good an Education would return the Obligation with their Service. To this End King *Alphonsus* sirnamed the wise, in the Second of his excellent Laws, call'd the *Partidas*, has drawn up a Catalogue of those Arts and Duties it is proper for Kings Sons to be exercised in.

For all these Exercises nothing renders a Prince so fit as Hunting, for herein Youth exerts it self, becomes strong and active; that gives occasion to use Military Arts, to view Ground, measure the time, know when to expect, when assault and strike, what use to make of Accidents and Statagems. There the sight of the Blood of wild Beasts, and the trembling Motion of their Limbs as they expire, purge the Affections, fortify the Mind, and inspire generous Thoughts, such as despise Fear and Danger: for the Solitude of a Wood and that Silence which usually is kept in Hunting raise the Thoughts to glorious Actions (14).

Lastly all those Exercises are to be used with that moderation that they render not the Mind either wild or stupid; for the Mind is no less harden'd with too much Labour, and made as it were callous and insensible, than the Body. 'Tis therefore not convenient to fatigue both at the same time, for these Labours have contrary Effects; that of the Body is a hindrance to the Mind, that of the Mind to the Body (15).

(14) *Nam & sylvæ solitudo, ipsumq; illud silentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt.* Plin. lib. 1. Epist. ad Cor. Tac.

(15) *Nam simul mentem & corpus laboribus fatigare non convenit, quoniam bi labores contrariarum rerum efficientes sunt. Labor enim corporis menti est impedimento, mentis autem corpori.* Arist. Pol. 8. C. 4.

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EMBLEM IV.

KNowledge is neceſſary in a Governour, in a Subject natural Prudence is ſufficient, nay ſometimes meer Ignorance. In the Idea and Contrivance of a Building the Brain is employed, in the Fabrick it ſelf the Hand labours. Command proceeds from Underſtanding and is quick-ſighted, Obedience is ignorant generally and blind (1). He is by nature a Commander who is moſt intelligent. Whereas others are ſo either by Succeſſion, Election or Conqueſt, which depend more upon Fortune than Reaſon. Wherefore we ſhall reckon the Sciences among the politick inſtruments of Government: ſo *Juſtinian*; *Imperial Majeſty*, ſays he, *ought to be Armed as well with Laws as*

(1) *Præſt autem naturæ, qui valet intelligentia prævidere.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. Cap. 4.

Arms,

Arms, that the time of peace and War may be equally well governed (2). This 'tis you have exhibited in the preſent Emblem under the figure of a Cannon levelled for the better aim, by a quadrant, the Emblem of the Laws and Juſtice; for this ſhould ſo manage Peace and War that what's Juſt be always in View, and Reaſon be the mark at which all things be aimed by the medium of Wiſdom and Prudence. 'Tis related of *Alphonſus* King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, that being ask'd upon this Subject, which he was moſt indebted to, his Arms or Studies? he made anſwer: *That 'twas from his Books he had learnt Arms and the Laws of Arms* (3).

But ſome one may perhaps think theſe Ornaments of Learning are more convenient for the body of a Commonwealth, which the word Majeſty ſeems to import, than the Prince, who being diſtracted with Publick Buſineſs, can't apply himſelf to them; that 'twere ſufficient to make Learning flouriſh, if he entertained and patronized Men of Ingenuity; which the ſame Emperour *Juſtinian* did, who tho' himſelf utterly illiterate, with the Aſſiſtance of Men of the greateſt Learning, whoſe Converſation he had, got the Reputation of an eminent Governour. For my part, tho' I make no difficulty to grant that even men of no literature may ſometimes govern a Commonwealth well, as we have inſtances in K. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and many others; yet this only holds in thoſe Genius's that Experience has improved, or at leaſt ſuch as are endowed by Nature with ſo acute a Judgment that they can determine any thing without danger of Errour (4). But tho' Prudence may have ſome efforts from Nature, yet tis to be perfected by Learning; for to know well how to choſe whats good, and reject the contrary, a

(2) *Imperatoriam Majeſtatem non ſolum armis decoratam, ſed etiam legibus oportet eſſe armatam, ut utrumq; tempus & belli & pacis recte poſſit gubernari.* Juſt. in proœm. Inſt. (3) *Ex libris ſe arma, & armorum Jura didiciſſe.* Panorm. lib. 4. (4) *Etſi prudentia quaſdam impetus à natura ſumat tamen perficienda doctrinâ eſt.* Quint. lib. 12. C. 12.

general

general knowledge is almoſt neceſſary, and a long obſervation of Examples both paſt and preſent, which is not perfectly to be attained without labour and ſtudy; nothing therefore is ſo neceſſary to a Prince as the Light and Ornament of good Literature; *For for want of the knowledge of theſe things* (ſays K. *Alphonſo*) *a Prince will be oblig'd to take to his aſſiſtance, one who does underſtand them; and he may experience what King* Solomon *ſaid, That he who entruſts his ſecret with another, makes himſelf his ſlave, whereas he who can keep it himſelf, is Maſter of himſelf, which is infinitely requiſite in a Prince.* For the Office of a King requires a great underſtanding and that too illuſtrated with Learning, *for without doubt,* ſays K. *Alphonſo* in the ſame Law, *no man can acquit himſelf of an Office of ſuch importance as this, at leaſt without great underſtanding and wiſdom,* whence he who ſcorns the favours of Knowledge and Education, will be ſcorn'd by God, who is the Author of them. Other Sciences have been divinely infuſed into many; none but *Solomon* was ever inſpired with Politickss. For Tilling ground, Agriculture preſcribes certain Rules; the Art of Taming wild Beaſts has alſo its Methods, but 'tis eaſier to command any Animal than Man, 'tis neceſſary therefore that he be endued with an extraordinary portion of Wiſdom who has Men to govern (5). The different Cuſtoms and Diſpoſitions of Subjects can't without conſiderable Sagacity, Application and Experience be diſcovered: and conſequently no man requires Wiſdom more than a Prince (6). Tis that makes Kingdoms happy, Princes feared and reverenced. Then was *Solomon* ſo, when the World became acquainted with his. Knowledge renders a Prince more formidable than Power (7). *A wiſe King,* ſays the holy Spirit, *is the upholding of the people: But an un-*

(5) *Omni animali facilius imperabis quam homini, ideo ſapientiſſimum eſſe oportet, qui hominibus regere velit.* Xenoph. (6) *Nullus eſt, cui ſapientia magis conveniat, quam Principi, cujus doctrina omnibus debet prodeſſe ſubditis.* Veget. (7) Wiſd. 5. 26.

wiſe.

wise King destroyeth them (8). All which shews how barbarous the Opinion of the Emperour *Licinius* was, who cryed out upon the Sciences as a publick Plague, Philosophers and Orators as Poison to a Commonwealth; nor does that of the *Goths* appear less absurd, who found fault with *Athalaricus*'s Mother for instructing him in good Letters, as if he was thereby rendred incapable of publick Business. *Silvius Æneas* had quite other sentiments of them, when he said they were Silver in the Commonalty, Gold in the Nobility, and in the Prince Jewels. *Alphonso* of *Naples* upon hearing once a certain King say, *That Learning did not become a Prince*; Replyed immediately, *That's spoke rather like a Beast, than a man* (9). Well therefore said K. *Alphonso* †, *That a King ought to be assiduous in Learning the Sciences, for by them he will learn the Office of a King, and know better how to practise it.* Of *Julius Cæsar* 'tis related that he would have the Statuary form him, standing upon a terrestrial Globe with a Sword in one Hand, in the other a Book with this Motto, *Ex utroq; Cæsar*; thereby intimating that as well his Learning as his Arms was instrumental in getting and preserving to him the Empire. *Lewis* the XIth of *France* did not esteem Learning at this rate; for he would not permit his Son *Charles* the 8th. to apply himself to it, because he found himself thereby so obstinate and opinionative as not to admit the Counsel of any, which was the reason why *Charles* proved afterwards unfit to govern, and suffered himself to be led by the Nose by every one, not without great Dishonour to himself and detriment to his whole Kingdom. Extreams therefore in that as in all other things are to be avoided, supine Ignorance breeds Contempt and Derision, besides it is exposed to a thousand Errours; on the other side excessive Application to Studies distracts the Mind and diverts it from the Care of Government. The Conversation of

(8) Eccl. 10 3 (9) *Eam vocem bovis esse, non hominis*, Panorm. lib. 4. † lib 15 c 5. p. 2.

the

the Muſe is very pleaſant and agreeable, and no one would without Reluctancy exchange it for the Fatigue and Trouble of Audiences and Conſultations. *Alphonſo* the Wiſe knew the Cauſes of Earthquakes, but could not regulate the Commotions of his Kingdoms; the Cœleſtial orbs his Ingenuity penetrated, yet knew not how to defend the Empire offered, and Crown hæreditary to him. The Sultan of *Egypt* upon his fame ſent Embaſſadours to him with very conſiderable preſents, in the mean time almoſt all the Cities of *Caſtile* revolted. Thus it uſually happens; Princes too much addicted to the Studies of Wiſdom advance their Reputation among Foreigners, and loſe it with their Subjects. Their Learning is admired by thoſe, to theſe ſometimes prejudicial; for Men of mean parts are generally better Governours than men of ingenuity (10). A Mind too intent upon Speculation is uſually ſlow in Action, and fearful in Reſolution, for of neceſſity many different and contrary Reaſons muſt occur to ſuch a Perſon, which either wholly take away or obſtruct the liberty of his Judgment. If an Eye looks upon Objects by the Sun's Light reflected, it clearly and diſtinctly ſees them as they are; whereas if it be fixed directly againſt the Sun's Rays, 'tis ſo dazled with too much luſtre, that it can't ſo much as diſtinguiſh the Colours and Figures of them. It happens thus to Wits; thoſe who too eagerly apply themſelves to the Studies of Wiſdom and Learning are leſs fit for publick buſineſs. Right Reaſon never judges better than when free and diſengaged from the Diſputations and Subtilties of the Schools; nor without Reaſon did the wiſe K. *Solomon* call that the worſt of Travails which himſelf had tryed (11). For there are ſome of the li-

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(10) *Hebetiores quam acutiores ut plurimum melius Rempub. adminiſtrant.* Thucyd. lib. 3. (11) I gave my Heart to ſearch out by Wiſdom, concerning all things that are done under Heaven: This ſore Travail hath God given to the Sons of Men, to be exerciſed with. *Eccleſ.* 1. 13.

beral Sciences, which to have a superficial Knowledge of is commendable, but to make them ones whole Business, and desire to attain a Perfection in them, very prejudicial (12). Wherefore 'tis very convenient that prudence moderate a little that desire of knowledge which is usually most vehement in the best Wits; as we read *Agricola*'s Mother did, who cooled the heat of her Sons Mind, when in his youth he seem'd to follow the study of Philosophy more eagerly than was allowable for a *Roman* and Senatour (13). As in Vices so in Learning there is excess (14): and this is as hurtful to the mind as those to the Body. It will suffice therefore for a Prince to tast the Arts and Sciences as 'twere *en passant*; some practical knowledge of them will be more for his advantage, particularly those which relate to the Affairs of Peace and War, taking as much out of them as will suffice to illustrate his understanding and regulate his Judgment, leaving the honour of being excellent in them to his Inferiours; let him pass only his leisure hours in this Noble Exercise as *Tacitus* says *Helvidius Priscus* used to do (15).

This granted, those are not always to be esteem'd the best Tutors for Princes, who are most eminent for Learning and Knowledge, for they are generally too great Lovers of Retirement and studious Idleness, Strangers to conversation, Men of no Resolution and very unfit for the management of weighty Affairs. But those rather who are Learned and Experienced Politicians, who besides the Sciences can teach a Prince the Art of Government.

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(12) *Sunt enim quædam ex liberalibus scientiis quos usque ad aliquid discere honestius sit, penitus vero illis tradere atque usq; ad extremum persequi velle, valde noxium* Arist. lib. 8. Pol. (13) *sed in prima juventa studium Philosophiæ acrius quam concessum Rom. ac senatori hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (14) *Retinuitq; quod difficillimum est ex sapientia modum.* Ibid. (15) *Ingenium illustre altioribus studiis juveris admodum dedit, non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita Rempub capesseret.* Tac. lib 4 Hist.

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The firſt thing to be inſtilled into a Prince is the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wiſedom (16). He who adheres to God is very near the fountain of all Sciences. To know what is human only, is Ignorance, the daughter of Malice, which is the ruine of Princes and Commonwealths.

Another neceſſary qualification in a Prince is Eloquence, that pleaſing Tyrant over the Paſſions, that ſweetly allures Mens Wills to a Submiſſion to its Commands. That great Prophet *Moſes* knew of what Conſequence this was, and therefore when he was ſent into *Egypt* to conduct the Children of *Iſrael* thence, made this excuſe to God that he was ſlow of ſpeech and of a ſlow Tongue (17). And God took this for a reaſon, and accordingly to encourage him, promiſed to aſſiſt his Lips and put into his Mouth the Words he ſhould ſpeak to *Pharaoh* (18). What did not *Solomon* promiſe himſelf from his Eloquence? *I ſhall be admired*, ſays he, *in the ſight of great men. When I hold my Tongue they ſhall bide my Leiſure, and when I ſpeak they ſhall give good Ear unto me: if I talk much they ſhall lay their hands upon their mouth* (19). And certainly if naked eloquence has power ſo ſtrangely to captivate an audience, what can't it do if armed with Regal Power, or cloathed with Purple? a Prince who can't ſpeak his Mind without the aſſiſtance of another (a fault *Nero* was firſt obſerved to be guilty of (20)) is rather a dumb ſtatue, and deſerves not the Name of a Prince. Hiſtory is the Miſtriſs of Political truth (21), than which nothing can better inſtruct a Prince how to rule his Subjects. For in that, as in a clear Mirrour, appears the Experience of

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(16) Pſal. 100. 10. (17) O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor ſince thou haſt ſpoken to thy Servant: I am but ſlow of ſpeech, and of a ſlow tongue. *Exod* 4. 10. (18) I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou ſhalt ſay. *Exod.* 4. 12. (19) *Wiſd.* 8. 12. (20) *Primus ex iis, qui rerum potiti eſſent, Neronem alienæ facundiæ eguiſſe.* Tac. 1. Ann. (21) *Veriſſimam diſciplinam, exercitationemq; ad politicas actiones, Hiſtoriam eſſe.* Polyb. lib. 1.

former

former governments, the prudence of Predeceſſours, and the Souls of many Men collected into one (22). Hiſtory is like a faithful Counſellor, always ready and at hand. Of Law the Prince need only ſtudy that part which relates to Government, turning over ſuch Laws and Conſtitutions of his Kingdom as were by right Reaſon dictated or by Cuſtom approved.

Let him not ſpend much time in the ſtudy of divinity; for how dangerous that knowledge and power in conjunction is, *England* has experienced in K. *James*, 'tis enough for a Prince to perſevere himſelf in the faith and have about him devout and Learned Men able to defend it.

Laſtly Judicial Aſtrology has been the ruine of many Princes; for that deſire of knowing future events is in all Men vehement, eſpecially in Princes, for they promiſing to themſelves great Authority if they can be looked upon as equal to the Gods, or do any thing above the common reach of Mankind, follow theſe ſuperſtitious and odious Arts: nay ſometimes arrive to that degree of madneſs, to aſcribe all things to ſecond cauſes, and utterly deſtroy divine providence by imputing all to chance and divination, whence it happens that while they attribute more to Chance and Fortune than human Prudence or Induſtry, they are too remiſs in their Deſigns and Actions, and oftner adviſe with Aſtrologers than their Counſellours.

(22) *Hominum multorum mens in unum collecta.* Greg. Naz. ad Nicom.

EMBLEM V.

THE Sciences have bitter Roots, though the Fruit be ſweet; for this reaſon our Nature at firſt has an Averſion for them, and no labour appears ſo harſh as what muſt be employed on their firſt Rudiments: What Pains and Anxiety do they coſt Youth? Upon which account, and becauſe Studies require aſſiduous Application, a thing very injurious to Health, and which the Buſineſs and Diverſions of the Court don't permit; the Maſter ſhould be induſtrious in inventing ſeveral means to qualify this troubleſome Inſtitution by diſguiſing it under ſome pleaſant Game, that the Prince's mind may imbibe what he is to learn inſenſibly. For inſtance, to teach him to read he may uſe this contrivance; let there be made four and twenty ſmall Dice, on each of them be engraven a Letter of the Alphabet, then let ſome Children play, and he win who at one Caſt throws

throws most Syllables, or an entire Word. These little Victories and Entertainments will take off much of the difficulty of this Task, for 'tis far more hard to play at Cards, which, however Children presently learn. Now, to teach the Prince to Write in a way as short, I would have the Letters engraven of a thin Plate, this put upon Paper, and him to go over these Tracts of Characters, as so many little Furrows, with his Hand and Pen; especially exercising himself in those Letters of which the rest are framed. Thus, while he Attributes to his own Wit and Industry, what is only the effect of this artificial Plate, he will by degrees be more pleased with those Labours. Nor is skill in Languages less necessary for a Prince; for always to use an Interpreter, or read only Transactions, is a thing too liable to deceit, or at least the truth thereby loses much of its Force and Energy: Not to mention that it can't but be very hard for a Subject not to be understood by him, from whom he is to expect Comfort in his Afflictions, to have his Miseries relieved, and to be gratified for his Services. This moved the Patriarch *Joseph*, when he was made Commander over *Egypt*; before all things to apply himself to learn the Languages most in use there, and which he did not understand (1). What Love and Esteem does at this day, the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Third's Skill in Languages procured him, being able to answer every one in his own Native Idiom; but a Prince is not to be instructed in this by way of Precepts, for they confound the Memory; but rather great Persons Sons of Foreign Countries should be taken into his Family, by whose familiar Conversation he may in a few Months time, and that with a little Pains, and as it were by way of Diversion, make so great a Proficiency, as to be acquainted with the Language of each of them.

That he may also know the use of *Geography* and *Cosmography*, (without which Policy is in a manner blind)

(1) Psalm 80. 6.

it were not amiss to furnish and hang his Chamber with Tapistry so artificial wrought, as to represent a kind of General Description or Map of the Universe, that is, the Four Quarters of the World, and most Remarkable Countries, together with the more celebrated Rivers, Mountains, Cities, and other places of Note. By the same contrivance may the Lakes be disposed, that he may fancy he sees in them, as in your Sea-Charts, the Situation of the whole Sea, its Ports and Islands. In Globes and Mathematical Spheres, he may see the Extent of both Hemispheres, the Motion of the Heavens, the Sun's Course, its Rising and Setting, the Vicissitude of Days and Nights, and all this by way of Discourse and Divertisement, leaving the Mathematicians subtle way of arguing and demonstrating to the Schools. It will suffice in *Geometry*, if he know how to Measure distances, take Altitudes and Depths with Instruments. 'Tis withal necessary that he learn Fortification, and accordingly for Instructions sake may raise Forts of Clay, or some such material, with all sorts of Trenches, Breast-works, Pallisadoes, Bastions, Half Moons, and other things necessary for the Defence of them; then he may Assault and play upon them with little Artillery made for that purpose. But to fix those Figures of Fortification more firmly in his Memory, 'twould be for his advantage to have the like artificially contrived in Gardens, cut in Myrtle, or any other Greens, as you see in the present Emblem.

Nor ought a Prince be ignorant how to Marshal an Army; to that end let him have Soldiers of all sorts, Foot and Horse, Cast in Metal; of these he may Compose an Army, distribute them into Regiments, Troops, Companies, in imitation of some Model, which he may have before him for that purpose. Plays ought always to be in imitation of things to be afterwards practised with more seriousness (2). By this means he will in-

(2) *Itaque ludi magna ex parte imitationes esse debent earum rerum, quæ serio postea obeundæ.* Arist. Pol. 7. c. 17.

sensibly

sensibly, and without any trouble take to these Arts; and when the light of Reason is risen in him, be more capable of a perfect knowledge of them by Conversation of Men of Learning (3), and such particularly as have been conversant with, and exercised in Affairs both of Peace and War, who will discover to him the Causes and Effects of each particular. For the knowledge of those things is at this time more useful, easier acquired, and fatigues the mind least (4).

Let no one look on these Exercises to be of no consequence in Education of Kings and Princes Children; for Experience, the best Mistress, teaches us, That Boys learn many things of their own accord, which they had not attained by the Instruction of a Master without much difficulty. Much less should any imagine that the variety of these methods rather prejudices than promotes Education. If to tame and master an Horse, so many Instruments are necessary, as the Bit, Bridle, Rains, Barnacle, and those too of different sorts; if so many Precepts are needful as have been written upon this Subject, what Care and Industry shall we think sufficient to form a perfect Prince, who is not only to Command the ignorant Vulgar, but even the Masters of the Sciences? To govern Men is not the Gift of Nature, but rather of Experience and Speculation; it seems to be the Art of Arts, the Science of Sciences, of which never any one will attain the Perfection (5). I am not ignorant, Sir, the Person your Highness has for a Master, is for the happiness of our Monarchy, so well furnished with these Arts and Sciences, that he can't but in a short time bring your Highness to a considerable Perfection in them: However these Advertisements, I could not omit pursuing my design in this Treatise to be beneficial as far as possible, not only to your Highness, but all other Princes now and hereafter.

(3) A wise Man will hear, and will increase Learning; and a Man of understanding shall attain unto wise Counsel. *Prov.* 1. 5. (4) *Eccl.* 39. 3. (5) *Mihi videtur ars artium & scientia scientiarum, hominem regere, animal tam varium & multiplex.* Greg. Naz. in Apolog.

EMBLEM VI.

THE heavenly Bridegroom has made use of the Body of this Emblem in the Book of *Canticles* to express the Ornaments of his Brides Virtues (1): and the same the Lilies that crowned and perfected the Pillars of *Solomon*'s Temple, seem to allude to (2), as do those which beautified the Candlestick of the Tabernacle (3). This put me upon designing in the present Emblem, to represent by the Wheat, the Sciences; by the Lilies, the Arts and polite Learning which they ought to be graced with. Nor am I without Precedent or Authority, for *Procopius* long ago by Ears of Corn understood Disci-

(1) Thy Belly is like an heap of Wheat, set about with Lilies, *Cant.* 7. 2. (2) And upon the tops of the Pillars was Lily-work, so was the Work of the Pillars finished. 1 *Kings* 7. 22. (3) *Exod.* 25. 31.

ples (4), as our Bridgroom by Lilies, Eloquence (5). In effect, what is Polite Learning, but a kind of Crown of the Sciences? *Caſſiodorus* calls it the Diadem of Princes (6); and the *Hebrews* uſed to crown ſome parts of it with Garlands: And this I take to be ſignified by the Poets Lawrels. The Hoods, and Girdles, and coloured Silken Tufts, by which the *Hebrew* Doctors were diſtinguiſhed. The Sciences ſhould poſſeſs the Center of the Soul; gentile Learning be inſtead of a circumference; the knowledge of one, without the Ornaments of the other, is a kind of ignorance; for 'tis with the ſeveral parts of Learning, as with the Nine Muſes, who joyning hands, make a Circle in their Dances. How tireſome a thing is Philoſophy if too ſevere, and not qualified, and made agreeable by Polite Literature and Humanity? Theſe are therefore neceſſary for a Prince to temper the harſhneſs of Government with their pleaſantneſs; for 'tis from that they have the name of Humane. A Prince ſhould not be altogether ſingular, but have ſomething common to the reſt of Mankind; he ſhould diſcourſe with them of different ſorts of Studies, and that with a courteous and obliging Carriage; 'tis not Royal Grandeur which confounds us, but extravagant indiſcreet Gravity; as 'tis not the Light, but the extream Drineſs of the Sun that dazles our Eyes; 'tis therefore very proper that Political Science be deckt and embelliſhed with the Liberal Arts, which caſt as great a Luſtre as Rubies in a Crown, or Diamonds in a Ring. Nor do ſuch Arts ſit amiſs upon Majeſty, as require the aſſiſtance of the Hand as well as Mind; nor will it in the leaſt derogate from a Prince's Authority, or obſtruct his Management of Publick Affairs, to allow him ſome intervals of leiſure for his Diverſion (7): Thus *Mark Anthony* took a delight in Painting; *Maxi-*

(4) *Spicæ nomine, at ego quidem ſentio, diſcipulorum cœtum intellexit.* Procop. in c. 17. Iſa. (5) His Lips like Lilies dropping ſweet ſmelling Myrrh. *Cant.* 5. 13. (6) *Diadema eximium impretiabilis notitia literarum, per quam dum veterum providentia diſcitur, regalis dignitas augetur.* Caſſi. 12. Var. 1. (7) *Nec cuiquam judici grave, aures ſtudiis honeſtis & voluptatibus conceſſis impartire.* Tac. 14. Ann.

milian the Second, in Sculpture; *Theobald*, King of *Navarre*, in Poetry and Muſick; with which laſt *Philip* the Fourth, the preſent King of *Spain*, your Royal Highneſs's Father, diverts himſelf as oft as diſingaged from the Cares and Concern the Government of two Worlds oblige him to. In this Exerciſe the *Spartans* too inſtructed their Youth; and in general all of this Nature are recommended by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, as very beneficial to a Commonwealth. And though 'tis true, the Mind ſhould not repoſe its whole ſatisfaction in them, Policy however requires a Prince ſometimes to uſe them, the People being ſtrangely pleaſed to ſee their Prince's thoughts thus diverted, and not always intent on the contriving their Slavery; 'twas on this account *Druſus*'s Debaucheries were acceptable to the *Romans* (8). There are only two things to be obſerved in the Uſe and Exerciſe of theſe Arts; one is, that they are to be practiſed not in publick but privately, as the Emperor *Alexander Severus* uſed to do, though excelled by none in Muſick, whether Vocal or Inſtrumental. The reaſon of this is, we are apt to think it a contemptible ſight to ſee the Hand which bears a Scepter, and Rules a Kingdom, filled with a Fiddle-ſtick or a Pencil; which we ſtill look upon to be a greater fault, if the Prince be of an Age, wherein one would think the care of the Publick ought to take him off theſe private Paſtimes: It being our Nature not to accuſe a Prince of loſs of time, if he's idle or does nothing, but rather blame him for ſpending it at theſe Diverſions. The other Caution is, that he lay not out too much time upon them, or be deſirous to excel others (9), leaſt he take more pride in this vain excellency than in well-governing the Commonwealth; a thing *Nero* was guilty of, who aban-

(8) *Nec luxus in juvene adeo diſplicebat: hoc potius intenderet, diem ædificationibus, noctem conviviis traheret; quam ſolus & nullis voluptatibus avocatus, mœſtas violentias & malas curas exerceret.* Tac. 3. Ann.
(9) *Hæc tria ad diſciplinam ſpectari oportet, at medium teneatur, ut fieri poſſit, ut deceat.*

doned

doned the Reins of his Empire for thoſe of a Chariot, and valued himſelf more upon acting the part of a Comedian in the Theatre than of an Emperor of the World.

This Abuſe which Princes ſometimes fall into by having a greater Eſteem for theſe Arts, than the Science of good Government. *Virgil* elegantly Cenſures in theſe Verſes:

Let others better Mold the running Maſs
Of Metals, and inform the breathing Braſs,
And ſoften into Fleſh a marble Face.
Plead better at the Bar, deſcribe the Skies,
And when the Stars deſcend, and when they riſe.
But Rome, *'tis thine alone, with awful ſway,*
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey;
Diſpoſing Peace and War thine own Majeſtick way.
To tame the Proud, the fetter'd Slave to free,
Theſe are Imperial Arts, and worthy thee.

Dryden's *Virg.*

As for Poetry, though it be a part of Muſick, Accents and Rhimes having the ſame effect in that, as Notes in in this; though that be the far nobler Exerciſe of the two; for this is of the Hands, that of the Brain. The one deſigned meerly to divert, the other to inſtruct with Diverſion; notwithſtanding it ſeems by no means proper for a Prince; it's ſtrange Sweetneſs being a great obſtacle to Maſculine and Noble Actions; for when the Mind is once captivated with the Charms of its Thoughts and Conceptions, as the Nightingal with the Melody of her Voice, it never leaves of, and grows ſo keen with Poetical Niceties, that its Edge is ſoon turned and blunted againſt the hard and rugged Troubles it muſt neceſſarily meet with in Government (10). Hence it alſo follows, That if a Prince takes not the

(10) *Vile autem exercitium putandum eſt, & Ars, & Diſciplina, quæcunque corpus, aut animam, aut mentem liberi hominis ad uſum, & opem virtutis inutilem reddant.* Ariſt. Pol. 8. cap. 2.

ſame delight in Ruling as Compoſing, he will in all probability leaſt regard this greateſt concern, wholly neglect or abandon it to the care of others; as did *John* II. King of *Arragon*, who ſquandered away his time in the Study of Poetry, and ſent for Perſons eminent for it from the remoteſt Countries, till his Subjects tired with his Negligence, put a ſtop to this uſeleſs Diverſion of his by an open Rebellion. Nevertheleſs, ſince Poetry is ſo much in Vogue at Courts, and does much refine and poliſh the Mind, a Prince will hardly eſcape the Charge of Ignorance, if he have not ſome ſmattering in't. He may therefore be allow'd ſome time for that Study, I mean as much as ſhall be thought fit to quicken his Parts, and improve his Judgment; for how many excellent Poems have by this means come from the Pens of ſuch as have govern'd in Church and State, with general Applauſe and Approbation? There are abundance of Princes given to the practice of Chymiſtry, which is indeed a very noble Diverſion, and diſcovers many wonderful Effects and Secrets of Nature; but for all this, I would adviſe a Prince not to meddle with it (11), for Curioſity will eaſily lead him from thence to Alchymy; or at leaſt, under the pretext of Simple Diſtillation, he will have a fancy to fix Mercury, and make Gold and Silver; things which the moſt precious of our time is thrown away upon to no purpoſe, and certain, waſted for uncertain Treaſures. 'Tis a Phrenzy, that nought but Death can cure, to make one Experiment after another, and not conſider that 'tis impoſſible to find a better Philoſopher's Stone, than a good and prudent Oeconomy. 'Tis of this, and of Commerce, not of Chymiſtry, this Sentence of *Solomon* is to be underſtood, [*That nothing is richer than Wiſdom*] (12). 'Twas by this kind of Traf-

(11) Be not curious in unneceſſary matters; for more things are ſhewed unto thee, than men underſtand. *Eccl* 3. 24. (12) What is richer than wiſdom that worketh all things? And if prudence work; who of all that are is a more cunning workman than ſhee? *Wiſd.* 8. 5.

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fick with the Inhabitants of *Tarſis* and *Ophir*, the ſame *Solomon* got his vaſt Riches; for which he had never prepared ſo many and great Fleets, expoſed to ſo many and great Hazards at Sea, if he could have ſaved the labour with a Crucible. It is likely, that he who could ſpeak well of all things (13), who was endued by God with a Supernatural Knowledge, ſhould never find out this Secret alſo, or actually have uſed it, had it been feaſible? Beſides, 'tis not credible that God will ever permit it, for thereby in probability an end would be put to all Commerce, which is maintain'd by nothing ſo much, as by a Species of Money common to all the World, and that made of ſome ſcarce and precious Metal.

(13) And he ſpake of Trees, from the Cedar-tree that is in *Lebanon*, even unto the Hyſop, that ſpringeth out of the Wall. 1 *Kings* 4. 33.

EMBLEM VII.

THE Affections are born with us; Reaſon comes not till many Years after, when they are already poſſeſs'd of the Will, and this deluded with a falſe appearance of good ſubmits to them, and owns no other Empire but theirs, till Reaſon recovering ſtrength by Time and Experience, takes upon it the Right of Government it had by Nature, and begins to make Head againſt the Tyranny of our Appetites. This Light uſually riſes later in Princes, becauſe the Delicacies of the Court which they're uſed to, render their Affections more prevailing; beſides, that their Courtiers ſtrive generally to get their Favour, which they know, rather depends upon the Will than Reaſon; hence all uſe the art of Flattery, and make it their buſineſs to engage that, but caſt a Cloud on this. A Prince ought therefore to be well acquainted with theſe Artifices, and arm

arm himself not against his own Passions only, but all such Persons as would abuse them to govern him. This is a great and general Negligence in those who undertake to form Princes Minds. Useless and unfruitful Weeds which grow among Corn, we spend time in eradicating; yet suffer vicious Passions and Inclinations, that wage War with Reason, to grow. To cure a Prince's Body, many *Galens* are always ready, the Mind often has scarce one *Epictetus*; though this is subject to no less Infirmities than the Body, and those so much worse, as that is more excellent than this. If its countenance were visible, and we could discover in it its ill and distempered Affections, we should pity the Condition of many, we at present take for happy Men, whom that feverish Heat of depraved Appetites so miserably preys upon. If the Hearts of Tyrants could be opened, one might see Bruises and Wounds (1). Alas! What Tempests of Confusion and Distraction is a Mind in that Condition rack'd with? Its Light is all obscured, his Reason so disturbed, that all things appear to him far different from what they really in themselves are. Hence proceeds that variety of Judgments and Opinions in the World; hence few weigh things aright, but pass a different estimate according to the light by which they see them. For 'tis with the Affections, as with Telescopes, which at one end magnify, at the other diminish Objects. The Crystals are the same, the Objects nothing alter'd; this only is the difference, that the visual Rays falling in at one end, are dilated from the Center to the Circumference, and consequently diffuse themselves and multiply more; whereas at the other end they are contracted from the Circumference to the Center, and so represent Objects considerably less: Such is the difference between these two ways of looking upon things. At the same time (tho'

(1) *Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus, & ictus, quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

in

in different Kingdoms) the two Infants, *James*, the Son of *James* the Second, King of *Arragon*; and *Alphonso*, Son of *Dionysio*, King of *Portugal*, had in view the Succession of their Fathers Crown. But see in how different a manner, the first against his Father's Will refused to accept; the other contrary to the Laws of Piety, by force of Arms attempted to snatch it from the Head of his. One considering the vast Cares and Dangers of Government, bid adieu to the World, and preferr'd a Monastick Life as the more quiet and happy; the other look'd upon Life without Sovereignty to be burthensome and unprofitable, and had more respect to his Ambition than the Law of Nature. This look'd upon the Circumference of the Crown which border'd with Flowers, was an agreeable sight; that consider'd rather the Point and Center of it, whence the Lines of Labour and Care are drawn. All Men propose something that has the appearance of good, as the end of their Actions (2); but because we are deceived in the knowledge of this Good, hence proceeds our Error. The greatest thing imaginable when in our own Power appears little and inconsiderable, in others great and magnificent. Our own Faults we are not sensible of, those of others we easily discover. Other Mens defects seem like Giants, ours scarce so big as Dwarfs. Nay, further, we know how to new-name Vices, and give them the Colour of Virtue: Ambition we call greatness of Mind; Cruelty, Justice; Prodigality, Liberality; Rashness, Valour. In short, few can with Prudence distinguish Honesty from its contrary, what's profitable from the prejudicial (3). 'Tis thus, we are deceived when we look on things by that end of the Prospective, which Passions and Inclinations stop. I know nothing but Benefits that are to be looked upon through both ends; those we receive, ought to appear great to us; those

(2) *Omnia namque ejus, quod speciem boni præfert, gratiâ omnes agunt.* Arist. Pol. 1. Cap. 8. (3) *Pauci prudentia, honesta à deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt*, Tac. Lib. 4. Ann.

we confer, little. This was King *Henry* the Fourth's Custom; nay, he seldom so much as remembred Kindnesses he had done others; on the contrary, those he had received, he never let slip out of his Memory, being always careful the first opportunity to repay them as a Debt. A Prince ought not to imagine that a Courtesy is, as it were, a Mark of Slavery on the Person gratified: I should not call that Generosity but Tyranny rather, and a kind of Traffick for Mens Affections, which the Prince buys at the price of Favours, as they do Slaves for Money on the Coasts of *Guinea*. He who does a good Office should not think he lays an Obligation; he who receives it ought to think himself obliged. In a word, A Prince should imitate God Almighty, *who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideth not* (4). In undertaking and carrying on Wars; in procuring and establishing Peace; in Injuries as well offered as received, let him always use the same Crystal of right Reason, through which he may see every thing equally without disguise or fallacy. That Indifference and Justice in giving a due Estimate of things, becomes none more than a Prince, who ought to perform the same Office in his Kingdom, as the Tongue of a Balance in a pair of Scales, and agreeable thereto pass a true and sincere Judgment of all things, that his Government may be just, whose Balance will never hang even, if the Passions have place, or all things be not weighed in the Scale of right Reason. Upon this account Masters ought to come with singular Care and Industry to instruct the Prince's Mind, discovering those Errors of the Will, and the Vanity of its Perswasions, that free and disengaged from Passion, he may pass an unprejudiced Judgment on every thing. For, really if we throughly examine the fall of so many Empires, so many Revolutions in States, such a multitude of Kings and Princes deposed and murthered, we shall find the first Origin of these misfortunes to have

(4) James 1. 5.

been

been, the Passions having shaken off their Obedience, and their refusal to submit to Reason, whose Subjects they are by the Law of Nature. Nor is any thing more pestilent to a Commonwealth than those irregular Appetites, or the particular Ends which every one, as he pleases, purposes to himself. I don't hereby contend to have these Passions wholly razed or extinguished in a Prince, for without them he would be absolutely incapable of any generous Action; Nature having not furnished us with Love, Anger, Hope, Fear, and other the like Affections to no purpose; for though these are not Virtues, they are however their attendants and means, without which they are neither attainable nor practicable. 'Tis the abuse only, and inordinacy of them, I disapprove of; those are to be corrected, that a Prince's Actions be not guided by Passion, but his whole Government by Prudence and Policy. Those things which are common to other Men, are not allowable in a Prince (5). *Charles* the Fifth, if at any time he would indulge Anger or Indignation, did it in private and remote from Company, not publickly when he represented the Person and Majesty of an Emperor; for in this Capacity, a Prince is rather the Idea of a Governor than a Man, and rather his Peoples than his own Man. Nothing is then to be determined out of Affection, but all things examined by the Rule and Standard of Reason; not by his Inclination, but Art. A Prince's Behaviour should be rather Political than Natural; his designs proceed rather from the Heart of the Commonwealth than his own. Private Persons usually make their own Interest and Advantage the Measure of their Actions: Princes are to have the Publick Good in view. In a private Man to conceal his Passions, is look'd upon to be a sign of too close and reserv'd a Temper; in Princes even Policy sometimes require it. There appeared not the least

(5) *Regum est ita vivere, ut non modo homini sed ne cupiditati quidem serviant.* M. Tull. in Orat. Syll.

Symptom

Symptom of Passion in *Tiberius*, when *Piso* presented himself to him, after having, according to his order, dispatched *Germanicus*, which occasioned no small Jealousy in *Piso* (6). He who Commands many, should with many vary his Affections, or if possible appear free from them (7); endeavour in the same Hour as occasions differ, to seem Severe and Courteous, Just and Merciful, Liberal and Frugal (8). *Tiberius* was a great Master (9) of this Art, whose Mind it was not easy to discover; he knew so well how to mingle the Symptoms of his Anger and Satisfaction. A good Prince commands himself, and serves his People; but if he neglect to break, or conceal the natural Tendency of his Mind, his Actions will be always uniform, whence every one will presently see the Scope of his Designs, contrary to one of the principal Maxims of Policy; which for this very reason recommends variety of Methods in Acting, that the Prince's Designs may not be known. Nor is it by any means safe for him to let others discover his Nature and Inclinations. For there's no easier access to his Mind than that, which 'tis necessary he keep free and reserved, if he desire to have his Kingdom well-governed. For as soon as his Ministers have once discovered his Inclination, immediately they flatter him, and encourage the same in themselves. If in any thing the Prince be obstinate and opinionative, they are so too, and now nothing but perverseness governs. But if it shall be at any time the Prince's Interest to court the Peoples Favour and Applause, let him rather so behave himself, that what the People like or dislike, he may seem to have a natural Inclination or Aversion for. *Aristotle* puts Bashfulness in the number of the Passions, denies it to be a Moral Virtue, because a fear of Infamy, and

(6) *Nullo magis exterritus est, quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira obstinatum, clausumque vidit, ne quo affectu perumperetur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Istuc est sapere, qui, ubicumque opus sit, animum possis flectere.* Terent. (8) *Tempori aptari decet.* Sen. in Med. (9) *Haud facile qui despexerit illa, in cognitisne mentem Principis; adeo versis, ac miscuit iræ & clementiæ signa.* Tac. 3 Ann.

therefore seems incompatible with a great Man, whose Actions being all squar'd by the Rule of right Reason, he has nothing to be ashamed of. According to St. *Ambrose*, however 'tis a Virtue which regulates our Actions (10); by which I conceive, he means that ingenuous and liberal Shame, or rather Modesty, which like a Bridle restrains us from the Commission of any ignominious or unseemly Action, and is a token of a good Genius, and no small argument that there remain in that mind some Seeds of Virtue, though not yet deeply rooted. I am apt to believe *Aristotle* speaks of another vitious and irregular Bashfulness, which is an obstacle to Virtue; we may say of both, as of Dew, which falling moderately nourishes and refreshes Corn; but when thick like small Snow, burns up and kills it. No Virtue can be freely exercised, when this Passion has once prevailed, nor is any thing more pernicious to Princes, for this reason above all, that it has the appearance of Virtue, as if it were in a Prince a sign of Candor, (and not rather of a mean and abject Spirit) not to be able to deny, contradict, reprehend, or correct without a Blush. Such as these straiten themselves too much in their Grandeur, are in a manner afraid of Shadows; and what is worse, make themselves Slaves to those they ought to govern. Besides, how unbecoming is it to see in their Faces the colour of Shame, which none but Flatterers, Liars, and in general, all profligate Persons ought to be stained with, and for them so to forget themselves as to be governed and cozen'd by others. Whatever is asked, they voluntarily offer, and give without any respect to Merit, vanquished meerly by Petitions. They readily subscribe to others Counsels and Opinions, though they don't approve them, and had rather seem Conquer'd

(10) *Pulchra virtus est verecundia, & suavis gratia, quæ non solum in factis, sed etiam in ipsis spectatur sermonibus, ne modum prætergrediaris loquendi, ne quid indecorum sermo resonet tuus.* St. Ambros.

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than Victors; which is the foundation of the most considerable Miscarriages in a Commonwealth; shamefacedness by no means becomes Princes, who should always appear with a serene and steady Aspect (11). Princes therefore should make it their whole business to correct this Passion, and moderate their natural Bashfulness with Valour and Constancy, with a Resolution not only of Mind, but outward Demeanour to resist Flatteries, Lyes, Frauds, and Malice, that they may correct and amend them, and preserve a Royal Integrity in their Words as well as Actions. Which the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Henry* the Fourth, having neglected to do; what wonder if their Authority and Crowns were brought into such dangers? Farther, in curing this Passion, no small Discretion is necessary; for whereas other Vices, like Thorns, are to be utterly extirpated, this is rather to be pruned, and the superfluity cut off; that part of Shame left which guards Virtues, and regulates Mens Manners and Actions; for without this restraint, the Prince's Mind will be quite unruly; and except he now and then reflects upon Infamy and Indecency, he will follow the force of his Passions, and precipitate himself; especially when there's Power to countenance them. If by good Arts modesty is scarce to be preserved, what will be the consequence if we wholly abandon that (12)? 'Twas then *Tiberius* gave himself to all manner of Vice and Tyranny, when he had cast off Shame and Fear, and followed only his own Humour (13). Hence *Plato* said, *That* Jupiter, *if at any time apprehensive of the Ruin of Mankind, dispatch'd* Mercury *for the Earth, to distribute Justice and Modesty among Men, by which they might prevent their Destruction.* Commiseration and Pity is a Passion not less dangerous in Princes, than the other;

(11) *Quorundam parum idonea est verecundia rebus civilibus, quæ firmam frontem desiderant.* Seneca. (12) *Vix artibus honestis retinetur pudor.* Tac. 14. Ann. (13) *Postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

for when it has once prevailed in the Mind, neither Reason nor Justice perform their Offices. For out of an extravagant fear of disobliging any by Reprehension or Correction, they neglect to apply Remedies to their Subjects Crimes, and suffer many to go unpunished. They are deaf to the Peoples Clamours, nor do Publick Calamities affect them, while at the same time they are sensibly touch'd with pity for three or four Men who were the Promoters of them. They feel themselves disordered at other Mens Crimes; and accordingly for fear of any trouble upon their account, chuse to connive at, or pardon, rather than punish them. This is a weakness of Judgment, and defect of Prudence, to be remedied with time; but that with the same Moderation as we mentioned of Bashfulness, that part only of Commiseration is to be retrenched which so enfeebles the Mind, that it can't act with Vigour and Constancy. Reserving that compassionate Affection peculiar to Princes (14) where right Reason, without hazarding the publick Security, perswades. Both these Passions, as well that of Bashfulness, as Commiseration, are corrigible, and to be subdued by some contrary Actions, which may remove that too great tenderness and imbecillity of Mind, and delivering it from those servile Fears, render it capable of more masculine Actions. If a Prince now and then endeavours (though in matters of the least consequence) to keep his Mind firm and resolute, and considers his Power and Quality, he will easily afterwards be able to do the same in Affairs of greater moment. All's done, if he can but once acquit himself generously in it, and make himself fear'd and respected. There remain two other Passions considerably prejudicial to Youth; Fear and Obstinacy. Fear, when a Prince is so timorous, and in all things diffident of himself, that he dares neither act nor speak. Never approves any Action of his own, Fears to appear in publick, and Love's rather solitude

(14) *Principatus enim proprium est misereri.* St. Chrys.

and

and retirement. This proceeds generally from an effeminate and retired Education; as also for want of Experience, the only Remedy for this Distemper; that is, the Prince should use himself to give Audience to his Subjects as well as Foreigners; often appear in Publick that he may learn to know Men, and in general all other things as in themselves they are, not as his Imagination, or Master has painted them. Let there be always free access to his Apartments for those worthy Persons, that are his Father's Chamberlains, and all other Courtiers that are eminent for Valour, Ingenuity, and Experience. Which Custom was observed in *Spain* till the time of *Philip* the Second, who cautious of his Son *Charles*'s underhand-dealings, abolished that Custom of free Access and Communication, and so declining one Inconvenience, fell into another equally dangerous to Princes, for so is it to be too much abstracted from Conversation; for this usually prompts them to rely too much upon some particular Favourite.

Lastly, Obstinacy arises partly from Fear, partly from natural Slothfulness, when a Prince won't Act at all, but resolutely rejects all Instructions that are given him. That Coldness of Mind is to be cured by the Fire of Glory and Incentives to it, as faults in Horses are usually corrected by the Spur. The Prince therefore is to be led gradually into the way, and the Progress he makes to be commended; though at first those Commendations be above his merit, and only for forms sake.

EMBLEM VIII.

IN the Unicorn Nature hath ſhewn a piece of admirable Skill and Providence, in placing Anger's Weapon exactly between the Eyes. 'Tis abſolutely neceſſary to have both Eyes intent upon that Paſſion, which ſo imperiouſly tyrannizes over our Actions, and the Motions of the Mind. The ſame Flame that lights it, blinds it, and 'tis differenced only by its ſhort continuance from Fury and Madneſs. A Man in a Paſſion is not the ſame as before, for he is thereby as it were put beſide himſelf (1). Valour has no need of it; for what were more ſilly, than for this to require Aid from Anger, a thing ſtable from one inconſtant, faithful from one falſe, ſound from one diſeaſed (2)?

(1) *Non deſiderat fortitudo advocatam iram.* Cicero. (2) *Quid enim ſtultius eſt, quam hanc ab iracundia petere præſidium, rem ſtabilem ab incertâ, fidelem ab infidâ, ſanam ab ægrâ?* Senec.

'Tis

'Tis not this fickle pettish Passion obtains Victories, triumphs over Enemies, nor is that really Courage that is without Reason provoked. In a word, no Vice is more unbecoming a Prince, than that; for to be angry, supposes contempt, or an injury received; nor is any thing so disagreable to his Place and Office, in as much as nothing so obscures the Judgment which should in a Governor be serene and clear. A Prince that is exasperated, and passionate upon any slight occasion, gives his Heart into the Hands of the Person who provokes him, and is subject to his pleasure. If not a wrinkle in a King's Coat can be disordered without offence, what will it be if he suffer any one to disturb his Mind? Anger is a kind of Moth which Purple breeds and nourishes. Pomp engenders Pride; Pride, Passion; and Impatience is as it were a Propriety of Power. The Sense of Princes is something too delicate a Looking Glass which the least breath sullies, a Heaven that with the least Vapour is clouded and breaks out into Thunder. A Vice that generally seizes great and generous Spirits; as the Sea, however vast and powerful, is with the least blast of Wind raised into horrid Disorders and Tempests, with this only difference, that they are of much longer continuance in Princes Minds than in the Sea; especially if their Honour be concerned, which they imagine 'tis impossible to retrieve without Revenge. What a trifling piece of incivility was that, *Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, put upon *Alphonsus* the Third, after the Battel of *Arcos*, in returning without taking leave of him? Which however this so highly resented, that he could never forget it, or rest till he had got him out of his Kingdom. The Anger of Princes is like Gun-powder, which no sooner takes Fire, but has its effect; the Holy Spirit calls it the Messenger of Death (3); and barely on this account 'twere sufficiently reasonable to curb and restrain it. 'Tis very indecent for one in Authority to submit to this Passion. Let Princes re-

(3) The Wrath of Kings is as Messengers of Death. *Prov.* 16. 14.

member that nothing is put in their Hands for a Scepter, with which they can hurt. And if sometimes a naked Sword is carried before Kings, 'tis in token of Justice not Revenge; and then 'tis carried in another's hand to intimate that between Anger and Execution there ought to intercede a Command. The publick Safety depends on Princes, which will easily be in danger, if they hearken to so rash a Counsellor, as Anger. Who can escape its hands? For 'tis like a Thunder-bolt when it comes from Supreme Power. *And because*, says King *Alphonso*, *Anger is stronger in a King, and more dangerous than in others; in that he can more readily satisfy it, he ought to be more prepar'd to curb and correct it* †. If Princes in a Passion could look upon themselves, they would find a Countenance unbecoming such Majesty, whose Tranquility and agreeable Harmony, both of Words and Actions, ought to please rather than terrify, to acquire Love rather than Fear. A Prince therefore should quench the Heat and Violence of Anger; if he can't do so, at least to defer the Fury and Execution of it for some time: For as the same King *Alphonso* has said, *A King ought to keep in his Anger till it is over, this will be of great advantage to him, for so he will be able to judge truly, and act justly in all things* *. The Emperor *Theodosius* experienced this in himself; and for this reason enacted a Law, That Capital Punishments should not be executed till thirty Days after Sentence passed. Which *Tiberius* had before him decreed, though for only ten Days, and without giving the Senate power to revoke the Sentence once pronounced (4). Which indeed had been commendable, if his design had been to make room for Pardon, or give time for a second hearing of the Cause. But *Tiberius* was a Man of too much Cruelty and Rigor to give that Indulgence (5.) It was the

† L. 10, tit. p 2. * L. tit. 5. p. 2. (4) *Idque vitæ spatium damnatis prorogaretur, sed non senatui libertas ad pœnitendum erat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (5) *Neque Tiberius interjectu temporis mitigabatur.* Tac. 3. Ann.

Counsel

Counsel of *Athenodorus* to *Augustus Cæsar*, to determine nothing in a Passion till he had repeated the Twenty four Letters of the *Greek* Alphabet.

Since then, Anger is a short Madness, directly opposite to mature Deliberation; there is no better Antidote against it than prudent Reflection; that the Prince be not too hasty in Execution, before he has had Council to examine a matter throughly. King *Ahasuerus*, when his Queen *Vashti* refused to come at his Command, though he had reason to think himself contemned, and highly resented the Affront, yet would not be revenged till he had first called a Council, and taken the Advice of his Noblemen (6). To talk of an Injury received, inflames Anger more; hence that of *Pythagoras*, *Stir not Fire with a Sword*, for Motion increases the Flame; nor is there any more effectual Remedy for Anger than Silence and Solitude. By its self it insensibly consumes and wears off; whereas the most softning Discourse is often like the Water Smiths use to make their Fire burn fiercer. Farther, Anger has its seat in the Ears, or at least keeps watch there; these therefore a Prince is to secure, that they be not too ready to hear ill Reports, that may enrage him (7.) This I imagine was the reason the Statue of *Jupiter Cretensis* had no Ears, because they do more mischief to Governors than good. However, I think them necessary for Princes, provided they be cautious and ruled by Prudence, and let not themselves be moved at the first hearing of every trifling Story. Anger is to be commended when kindled by Reason, and moderated by Discretion; without such as that, there can be no Justice (8). Too much Indulgence gives license to offend, and makes Obedience bold. To endure all things with content, is ignorance, or shews a servile Temper of one who has a mean Opinion of himself. To continue in Anger when

(6) Esth. 1. 2. (7) Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath. *James* 1. 19. (8) *Nunc Irasci convenit, justitiæ causâ.* Stob. Serm. 20.

'tis

'tis to punish Offences, or make Examples of such as affront Regal Authority is no Vice, but a Virtue, and by no means derogates from Mildness and Clemency. Was any one more meek than *David* (9), *a Man after God's own Heart* (10)? So mild in Vengeance, in Anger so moderate; that when he had *Saul*, his greatest Enemy, in his power, was satisfied with cutting off the Skirt of his Robe, and even that afterward repented of (11). Nevertheless with severity did he revenge the Injury King *Hamm* did to his Ambassadors. *David* had sent them to comfort the King for the Death of his Father, but he groundlesly suspecting they came rather to spy out the State of his Kingdom, sent them away with the one half of their Beards shaved off, and their Garments obscenely cut off in the middle. *David*, a Man otherwise very peaceable, could not brook this Affront, but made War against him, and all the Cities of his Kingdom which he took, he utterly demolished; and the People that were therein, (to use the Scripture words) he *brought forth and put them under Saws and under Harrows of Iron, and under Axes of Iron, and made them pass through the Brick-kiln* (12). This may seem to be Cruelty, and an Excess of Anger, to any one that knows not that the Wounds injuries make, are sometimes to be so cured, as not so much as Scars should be left. *Artaxerxes* threatned Fire and Sword to some Cities, if they obey'd not an Edict he had published, resolving, if they refused, to make so severe an Example of their Contempt and Disobedience, as should extend to Brutes as well as Men (13). The most Just God taught us this piece of Policy, when with the utmost Rigour, yet without prejudice to his Infinite Mercy, he punished the *Syrians* Army for blasphemously

(9) Lord remember *David* and all his Afflictions, *Lat. Vers. Mansuetudinis ejus.* Psal. 131. 1. (10) I have found *David*, the Son of *Jesse*, a Man after mine own heart. *Acts* 13. 22. (11) And it came to pass afterwards that *David*'s heart smote him, because he had cut off *Saul*'s Skirt, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. (12) 2 *Sam.* 12. 31. (13) *Esth.* 16. 24.

calling

calling him the God of the Hills (14). The Supreme Authority and Power of Princes makes a part of a Commonwealth, so that they can't put up Affronts and Injuries at all times.

That Anger too is praise-worthy in Princes, and profitable to a State, which kindled by Incentives of Glory, elevates the Mind to difficult and noble Enterprizes, for without it nothing extraordinary, nothing great, can be undertaken, much less perfected and accomplished. That, that is it which nourishes the Heart of generous Spirits, and raises it above its self to despise Difficulties. The Academicks called it the Whetstone, *Plutarch* the Companion of Virtue. But particularly, in the beginning of his Reign, the Prince ought to lay aside Anger, and forget past Injuries; as *Sancho*, Sirnamed the Brave, did when the Succession of the Crown of *Castile* fell to him. With Government, a Prince changes as 'twere his Nature, why should he not also his Affections and Passions? 'Twere an Abuse of Government to take Revenge of one who already acknowledges himself your Subject. Let the Person offended think he has Satisfaction in having got Authority over him, who before injured him. Fortune could not give him a nobler kind of Revenge. So *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, thought, and therefore when some perswaded him to revenge the Injuries he had received, while Duke of *Orleans*, he made answer, *That it did not become the King of* France *to revenge the Quarrels of the Duke of* Orleans.

Particular Injuries done to his Person, not Dignity, a Prince ought not to vindicate with his utmost Power; for though they seem inseparable, yet 'tis convenient to make some Distinction between them, least Majesty become odious and too formidable. To this tended

(14) Because the *Syrians* have said, the Lord is the God of the Hills, but he is not God of the Vallies; therefore will I deliver this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord, 1 *Kings* 20, 28.

that

that of *Tiberius*, when he said, That if *Piso* had committed no other Crime, but the rejoycing at *Germanicus*'s Death, and his grief for it, he would revenge those Injuries done him as a private Person, not as a Prince, and in a publick Capacity (15). On the other side, those done to his Dignity or Publick Station, he ought not to vindicate as a private Person, so as in a transport of Passion to think his Honour and Reputation lost, except he have immediate Satisfaction, especially when it were fitter to be deferred; for Anger should not be a Motion of the Mind, but of the Publick Good and Advantage. King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, undoubtedly had this before him, when the King of *Granada* refused to pay him Tribute, as his Ancestors had done; and withal, insolently sent him word, that they were long since dead; that in his Mints they laboured not to Coin Silver or Gold, but Forge Swords and Launces †. *Ferdinand* concealed his Resentment of this Liberty and Arrogance for a time, and made a Truce with him, deferring Revenge till his Affairs were more quiet and settled; in which he consulted more the Publick Good, than his own Particular Affections (16). Nor is it less prudent to dissemble Anger, when one has reason to presume, that a time will come when it will be for our disadvantage to have shown it. For that reason, King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, though highly affronted by the Grandees of his Kingdom; yet, when he abdicated that of *Castile*, and retreated into *Arragon*, very discreetly concealed that Indignation of Mind, took no notice of the Injuries he had received, but shewed himself friendly and affectionate to all, as if he then foresaw he should be

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(15) *Nam si legatus officii terminos, obsequium erga Imperatorem exuit, ejusdemque morte, & luctu meo lætatus est, odero: seponamque à domo meâ & privatas inimicitias, non Principis, ulciscar.* Tac. 3. Ann.

† Marian. Hist. Hisp. lib. 24. cap. 16. (16) A Fool's wrath is presently known; but a prudent Man covereth shame. *Lat. Vers. Injuriam dissimulat. Prov.* 12. 16.

sometime

sometime restored to his Kingdom, as indeed it afterwards happened. A generous Mind hides its Resentments of Injuries, and strives not by the impetuousness of Anger, but rather by noble Actions to smother them; the best certainly, and a truly heroical kind of Revenge. When King *Ferdinand*, the Holy, besieged *Sevil*, a certain Nobleman reproached *Garcias Perez de Vargas* for wearing a waved Shield, which was not allowed his Family; he then pretended to take no notice of the Affront, till the Siege of *Triana*, where he fought with so much Valour, that he brought his Shield back stuck with Darts, then returning to his Rival, who was then in a secure Post, and shewing him the Shield, *You have reason*, says he, *to think much that I wear this Shield, that expose it to so many Dangers; without doubt no one deserves it beyond your self, who would take so much care to preserve it.* Those ordinarily bear Affronts most patiently, who are the least subject to give them; nor is it a less Virtue to Conquer this Passion, than an Enemy. To kindle a Prince's Anger is no less dangerous than to set Fire to a Mine or Petard; and though it be done in our own behalf, 'tis prudence to moderate it, especially if against Persons in Power: for such Angers generally fall on the Author's own Head. This was the reason the Moors of *Toledo* took so much pains to pacify King *Alphonso* the Sixth's Wrath, against the Archbishop of that place, and the Queen, who had taken without his Order, their Mosque from them. From which I draw two Precepts: One is, that Ministers ought, when the Duty of their place requires them, to tell the Prince of any thing that may create Distast or Anger, to represent them in the most softening terms imaginable (17); for it often happens that an incensed Mind vents its Fury upon the Person who gave the first Information of

(17) *Cuncta tamen ad Imperatorem in mollius relata.* Tac. 4. Ann.

the

the thing, however Innocent he may be, however good his Design was in doing it. The other is, That they endeavour not only to moderate Princes Anger, but cover and conceal it handsomely. Those Seraphims (Ministers of Love) which stood above God in *Isaiah*'s Vision, *with two Wings covered his Face, and with two covered his Feet* (18). Least his angry Countenance should strike such as were guilty of any fault with such Terror and Despair, that they would wish the Mountains to fall on them, rather than see the Face of an avenging God (19). The heat of Anger is no sooner cooled, but Princes are sorry and vexed to have had any Witnesses of it, or Spectators of its Effect, for both are equally disagreeable to the Dignity of a King. And God himself for this reason turned *Lot*'s Wife into a Pillar of Salt (20).

(18) Isaiah 6. 1. (19) Revel. 6. 16. (20) Gen. 19. 26.

EM-

EMBLEM IX.

'TIS to its own damage that Envy oppoſes the Trophies and Glory of *Hercules*. To what end does it attempt to bite his ſharp pointed Club, but to make its Jaws bloody? In ſhort, 'tis its own avenger. It ſeems to me like a Sword which from the ſame Blood it ſpills gathers Ruſt, and by that is afterwards eat up. All other Vices take their riſe from ſome appearance of Good, or from Pleaſure; on the contrary this proceeds from an inward Grief and Diſſatisfaction at the good of another. Other Vices their Puniſhment follows, this it even preceeds. Envy ſooner exerts its Fury upon its own Bowels (1), than on the Honour of its Neighbour. 'Tis the ſhadow of Virtue; he that would avoid that, muſt fly the light of this. The Owl's Sight being by

(1) Envy is the rottenneſs of the Bones. *Prov.* 14. 30.

Nature

Nature ſtrong enough to bear the Sun's Rays, is probably the reaſon other Birds hate and envy her: Whereas would ſhe be confined to her private Places, and conceal her ſelf in the darkneſs of Night, ſhe need not fear their Perſecutions. Between Equals there's ſeldom Emulation; when one's Fortune, the other's Envy encreaſes. Men are naturally apt to look with an ill Eye on upſtart Happineſs, and deſire to reduce the Fortunes of none more than thoſe whom they have once ſeen upon the Level with themſelves (2). Envy is like the Tare which never ſeizes Corn till it be conſiderably grown, and its Fruit begins to ripen (3). He muſt therefore fly Fame, Dignities, and honourable Employments, that would not be expoſed to Envy's Darts. A mean Fortune is leaſt dangerous (4). *Regulus* in the midſt of *Nero*'s Cruelty lived ſecure, becauſe, ſays *Tacitus*, his Gentility was of a ſmall ſtanding, and his Eſtate inconſiderable (5); but this fear would be unworthy a generous Beaſt. Others envying us, ſhews we excel them, but to be abſolutely free from Envy is a very ill ſign. 'Tis aſſuredly better to endure it, than be looked upon by all with indifferency. Envy is the Sting of Virtue; as the Thorn preſerves the Roſe, ſo does that Virtue. This would eaſily be neglected, were there none malicious and detracting. Many has Emulation advanced, many Envy made happy. That Emulation of *Carthage* raiſed the *Roman* Glory, as that of *Francis*, King of *France*, did the Fame of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. 'Twas Envy gave the *Roman*, nay, the Univerſal Church to *Sixtus Quintus*, thence came all his fortune. There's nothing better in this Caſe than Scorn, and being always endeavouring to mount

(2) *Inſita mortalibus natura, recentem aliorum fœlicitatem ægris oculis introſpicere, modumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in æquo videre.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) But when the Blade was ſprung up, and brought forth Fruit, then appeared the Tares alſo, *Matth.* 13. 26. (4) *Ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula ſunt.* Tac. 14. Ann. (5) *Quia nova generis claritudine, neque invidioſis opibus erat.* Tac. 14. Ann.

higher

higher till the envious Man's Eyes fail him, and he loſe ſight of you. The Shadow of the Earth reaches the Moon, that loweſt of the Cœleſtial Orbs, ſo near the Elements, and overcaſts its Splendor; the higher Planets it does not in the leaſt injure: The force of the Sun, when at height, ſcatters and diſpels Clouds. Where's great Inequality, there's no room for Envy, and conſequently this is the only remedy againſt it. The more expeditiouſly a Man advances himſelf, the leſs will he be expoſed to Envy. No Smoak comes from a Fire ſoon lighted. Whereas, while Merits wreſtle, as it were, with one another, Envy grows and takes up Arms againſt the Perſon preferr'd. Pride and Superciliouſneſs are things which in good Succeſs provoke Envy, and ſtir up hatred. On the other ſide, Modeſty quells it; for no one envies him as happy, who looks not upon himſelf as ſuch. For this reaſon, *Saul* immediately after his being anointed King, betook himſelf to his Houſe; and to ſhew he was not exalted with Royal Dignity laid aſide the Scepter for a time, and ſet his Hand to the Plough (6). There's yet another Remedy, which is not to enlarge one's Fortune at Home, but in a Foreign Country; for 'tis very obvious for one, who before knew another to be of a mean Extraction, but now ſees him in a high degree of Dignity, to envy him this happineſs; this Evil inſinuates its ſelf more by the Eyes than Ears (7). Many eminent Men have declined Honours to avoid being envied. The Conſul *Tarquinius* voluntarily choſe Exile to eſcape the ſight of this Fury. *Valerius Publius* ſet his own Houſes on Fire, becauſe their Magnificence procured him Envy. *Fabius* abdicated the Conſulſhip, ſaying, *Now I hope Envy will ceaſe to trouble the* Fabii (8). They were however in my opinion in the wrong, for

(6) 1 Sam. 10. 11. (7) *Ut effugiamus nomen invidiæ, quod verbum ductum eſt, à nimis intuendo fortunam alterius.* Cic. in Tuſ. (8) *Non enim poterimus ullâ eſſe invidiâ ſpoliati opibus, & illa ſenatoria poteſtate.* Cic. ad Att.

this is rather to put the Sword in the Enemies hands, and give further occasion to Envy; which when it has once undertaken to persecute any one, never leaves him, till it has driven him to the extremity of Misery. The Sun casts no Shadows so long as 'tis in the Zenith; but as it declines and comes nearer us, they proportionably increase and grow longer. In the same manner Envy pursues him with the greater force, who is near ruin, or begins to fall; and as it generally lodges only in mean spirited Persons, is always afraid he should raise himself upon his Legs again. Even after *Daniel* was thrown among the Lions, *Darius* thought him not yet secure enough from those who envied him the King's Favour; and so fearing more Mens Envy than the Wild Beasts Cruelty, he sealed the Stone which was laid upon the Lions Den with his own Signet, and with the Signet of his Lords, that no mischief might be done him (9). Sometimes to avoid Envy, and its Inconveniences, 'twere advisable to embark those in the same Fortune, whose Emulation may be feared. Thus the *Remora*, which sticking to the outside of the Ship stops its Course, loses its strength when taken in (10).

Envy does not always gnaw lofty Cedars; sometimes she tires her Teeth, and bloodies her Lips with the lowest Thorns, which Nature her self seems to have in a manner hated. Insomuch as not to look on even the Miseries and Calamities of others without Spite and Indignation; whether it be, that her Malice is wholly mad and unreasonable, or because she cannot endure the Sufferer's strength of Mind and Constancy, or the Fame Fortune's Injuries usually beget. There are to be found in the Person of the present Author, many things to make his Case deservedly deplorable; none,

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(9) That the purpose might not be chang'd concerning *Daniel*. *Lat. Vers. Ne quid fieret contra Danielem.* Dan. 6. 17. (10) *Peculiariter miratum, quo modo adhærens tenuisset, nec idem polleret in navigium receptus.* Plin. lib. 32. c. 1.

Or

or very few, to render him envied; nevertheless there are some who envy him these continual Cares and Fatigues, though little acknowledged or requited. There seems to be something of fatality in this Emulation against him; it produc'd it self without any reason, and often aspersés him with things, he had by hear-say from others, before he could have so much as imagined. Notwithstanding his mind so full of Candor, and mindful of his Duty, is so far from being disturbed at these things, that he rather loves that Envy and Indignation, perceiving it to awaken his Courage, and daily excite it to make a further Progress.

Princes therefore, who are so far in Degree and Dignity superior to others, ought chiefly to endeavour to despise Envy. He that has not Spirit enough for that, how will he have enough to be a Prince? To go to subdue it by kindness or rigour were plain Imprudence. All other Monsters *Hercules* tamed; against this neither Force nor Obligations were to any purpose. Nothing can silence the Peoples Clamours; for whatever Favours you confer, they take for Debts; nay, always promise themselves greater than they receive. Obloquy and Detraction ought not to quench in a Prince the desire of Glory, nor deter him from executing his Enterprizes: Dogs bark at the Moon, but she easily despises them, and proceeds in her Course. The principal Art of Government is to be able to endure Envy. Envy is not very prejudicial to Monarchies, but rather generally enflames Virtue, and makes it more illustrious; especially, if the Prince be Just and Constant, and don't too easily give credit to Calumnies. But in Republicks, where each Man goes for a part, and can execute the Desires of his Passions with the help of Friends and Relations; 'tis very dangerous raising Discord and Clandestine Conspiracies, whence afterwards arise Civil Wars, which are the Causes of all Revolutions in States. 'Twas that in former times ruined *Hannibal*, and many other great Men; and in this our Age has called in question the unparallel'd Fi-

delity of *Angelo Baduero*, that famous *Venetian*, whom you may deſervedly call the Glory and Ornament of that Commonwealth: A Man ſo deſirous of, and paſſionate for the Publick Good, that even while under baniſhment, and unjuſtly oppreſſed, and perſecuted by envious Men, he was in all things ſtrangely ſollicitous for the Preſervation and Welfare of his Country.

The moſt Sovereign Remedy againſt Envy in Republicks, is an Equality of all the Members of them, ſo as that all Pomp and Oſtentation be prohibited; for nothing ſo excites Emulation as the Splendor and Plenty of Riches. This made the *Romans* take ſo much care to regulate and reduce the ſuperfluous Expences of Feaſts, and to divide their Lands and Poſſeſſions, that their Citizens might be all equal in Strength and Eſtate.

Envy in Princes is very unbecoming their Eminency and Grandeur, as well for its being the Vice of an Inferior towards his Superiors, as becauſe it muſt be but a very inconſiderable Glory which can't ſhine without obſcuring others. The Pyramids of *Egypt* were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World for receiving Light on all ſides of them, without caſting the leaſt Shade on any Bodies near (11). 'Tis a ſign of weakneſs to want that which we envy in others. But nothing is more unworthy a Prince, than to envy the Excellence and Prudence of his Miniſters, for they are in a manner Parts and Members of him; the Head envies not the Feet for being ſo ſtrong as to ſupport the Body, or the Arms, becauſe they can labour; it glories rather in being furniſhed with ſuch Inſtruments. However, ſelf-love ſometimes is the reaſon, that as Princes are Superior to others in Power, ſo alſo they are deſirous to ſurpaſs them in the Gifts of Mind and Body. Even the fame of *Lucan*'s Verſes was a diſturbance to

(11) *Pyramides in Egypto, quarum in ſuo ſtatu ſe umbra conſumens, ultra conſtructionis ſpatia nulla parte reſpicitur.* Caſſiodor. l. 6. Var. Epiſt. 16.

Nero

Nero in the midſt of all his Grandeur (12). Wherefore thoſe who have to do with Princes, ought to be very cautious, not to ſeem to enter into a Diſpute with them for Knowledge or Ingenuity; or if at any time they are by ſome accident obliged to it, ſubmit rather, and voluntarily yield them the Victory; this being not only Prudence, but Reſpect due to Princes. The Cherubims (thoſe Spirits of Knowledge and Wiſdom) which ſtood before the Throne of God in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, with ſingular Modeſty covered their Hands with their Wings (13). This I wiſh indeed, that the Prince would be jealous of that Veneration, which ſome to get the greater Intereſt in him too ambitiouſly demand, and accordingly moderate a little the exceſs of thoſe his Favours. Yet, by what Charm I know not, this love and kindneſs inchants a Prince's Mind, and blinds Envy. *Saul* could not but look upon *David* with an ill Eye, when he ſaw his great Exploits, though done for his Service, more applauded than his own (14). Whereas *Ahaſuerus* could eaſily ſuffer *Haman*, that great Favourite of his, to be worſhipped and honoured by all as a King (15). No Envy has more danger in it than that between Noblemen; care ſhould therefore be taken that Honours and Great Places ſeem not to be Hereditary to particular Families, but be transferr'd from one to another; yet, ſo as that the wealthieſt of the Nobility be employed in Places that require Pomp and Expence; the poorer ſort in thoſe by which they may raiſe their Fortune, and maintain the Splendor of their Birth. There is ſome Emulation that is glorious, I mean ſuch as envies the Virtue and Merit of another, but

(11) *Lucanum propriæ cauſæ accendebant, quod famam carminum ejus premebat Nero.* Tac. lib. 15. Ann. (13) And there appear'd in the Cherubims, the form of a Man's hand under their Wings, *Ezek.* 10. 8. (14) And *Saul* eyed *David* from that day, and forward. 1 *Sam.* 18. 9. (15) And all the King's Servants that were in the Gate, bow'd and reverenced *Haman*, for the King had ſo commanded concerning him. *Eſth.* 3. 2.

grieves to want them it self, and endeavours by all the Efforts both of Valour and Wit to acquire them; this, I say, is commendable; nor is it to be reputed a Vice, but a kind of spark of Virtue proceeding from a noble and generous Mind. The Honour *Miltiades* got by his Victory over the *Persians*, kindled such Flames in *Themistocles*'s Breast, as immediately consumed all his Vices; he like another Man ran about *Athens*, crying, *The Trophies of* Miltiades *would not let him Sleep.* As long as *Vitellius* had Competitors, he abstained from Vices; but as soon as he was without them, both he and his Army abandon'd themselves to Cruelty, Lust, Rapine, and Licentiousness (16). This is the Emulation Commonwealths should encourage, by proposing Rewards, erecting Trophies or Statues; for that is the Soul and Spirit by which they are preserved, and grow daily more flourishing. And this I take to be the Reason the Republick of *Switzerland* takes so little pains to extend its Limits, and why it produces so few famous Men; though otherwise Nature has been by no means niggardly of Valour, and Strength of Mind to its Inhabitants; for their principal Design is to establish a general Equality, which puts a stop to all Emulation; and consequently all noble and Military Virtues are buried like burning Coals in Ashes. But though this Emulation among Ministers may seem useful, yet 'tis not wholly without Danger, in that the People who suffer no Man to be without a Rival are variously affected (17); hence, while these favour one, those applaud another, there arises a Contention between both Parties, and these Factions breed Tumults and Seditions. Besides that, the heat of Ambition, and desire of advancing themselves above others, usually puts them upon unlawful Tricks and Artifices; and that which at first was honourable

(16) *Tum ipse, exercitusque, saevitia, libidine, rapti in extremos mores proruperunt.* Tac. 2. Hist. (17) *Scientia militiæ & rumore populi, qui neminem sine æmulo sinit.* Tac. 14. Ann.

Emulation

Emulation, degenerates at length into Hatred and Envy. *Metellus* offended that *Pompey* was nominated to be his Succeſſor in *Farther Spain*, and envying the Glory of this Great Commander, disbanded the Soldiers, weakned the Army, and careleſly neglected all Proviſions. *Pompey* did afterwards the ſame, when he underſtood *Marcus Pompilius* was to ſucceed him in the Conſulſhip, and for fear, poſſibly, the Honour of Conquering the *Numantines* might redound to him, made a Peace with them very diſhonourable to the *Roman* Name. In our own times, *Grol* was loſt upon no other account but a Diſpute that aroſe among the Officers, that were ſent to relieve it, about Preheminence. In ſhort, nothing is ſo pernicious to Princes, nothing more needs a Remedy. Nor is here connivance to be admitted, but both are to be puniſhed, as well he that ſeems to be Innocent, as the Perſon in Fault. This forgiving the occaſion; that becauſe he renounced not his Right, and let ſlip an opportunity of managing Affairs to advantage. Which Rigour, if it ſeems to any one exceſſive, will be excuſed, by conſidering the Emolument of the Publick Good, and of the Example it will leave to Poſterity. There's no great Reſolution without ſome mixture of Injury. A Subject ought to look upon the Duty he owes his Prince, before his own Honour; let him demand Satisfaction for the Injury received afterwards, and think he has acquitted himſelf of his Duty to his Prince, in having a little while put it up. Patience in ſuch a Caſe, ſhews extraordinary Courage; for a generous Mind ought to prefer the Service of the King before its own Paſſions; and lay aſide private Feuds when the Publick Intereſt is concerned (18). *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* were bitter Enemies, yet being both ſent on an Embaſſy together, when they came to the City-gate, *Ariſtides* ſaid, *Let us here*, Themiſtocles, *leave for a little time our private Grudges, and at our return reſume them again.*

(18) *Privata odia publicis militatibus remittere*, Tac. 1. Ann.

The ſame did *Henry Guzman*, Duke of *Medina*, who though otherwiſe an Enemy to *Rodrigo Pontre*, Marquiſs of *Cadiz*, yet out of Love of the Publick Good, went to his Aſſiſtance at the Siege of *Alhama*. But becauſe 'tis much eaſier to prevent theſe Dangers than remedy them afterwards; the Prince muſt take care not to put two Miniſters of equal Authority in the ſame Office, for 'tis very difficult to make Power and Agreement ſubſiſt in the ſame place (19). *Tiberius* being to ſend another Miniſter into *Aſia* of equal Quality with the then Governor of that Province, thought that might be of dangerous conſequence; and therefore choſe *M. Aletus*, a Prætor, leaſt their equality might breed Emulation, and that occaſion ſome Impediment (20).

(19) *Arduum eodem loco potentiam, & concordiam eſſe.* Tac. 4. Ann.
(20) *Delectus eſt M. Aletus è prætoriis, ne Conſulari obtinente Aſiam, æmulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur.* Tac. 2. Ann.

EMBLEM X.

THE Faulcon's no ſooner let fly, but he ſtrives with his Beak to get off the little Bells that are hung at his Feet, knowing them to prejudice his Liberty; for their tingling ſhrill ſound is like a Voice, which with the leaſt motion raiſed, preſently calls the Faulconer, and ſo is the occaſion that the poor Bird is brought again to Confinement, how far ſoever it hid it ſelf in the thickeſt Woods. Alas! how many Men has the noiſe of their Virtues, and brave Exploits, been miſchievous to? How many has Fame brought into Envy and inſupportable Slavery? Nor is great or good Fame leſs dangerous than bad (1). *Miltiades* had never ended

(1) *Nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

his

his Days ſo unhappily in Priſon, had his Valour been conceal'd and unknown, or moderating his high Spirit, he had been content with a fortune equal to that of other *Athenian* Citizens. But the Reputation of his Victories increaſing, and the Eyes of Envy being not able to bear Fame's ſo bright Rays, this Republick began to miſtruſt what merited Eſteem and Recompence; they feared, forſooth, their own Necks might at length be obliged to bear the Yoke he had put on that of their Enemies; and dreaded more the future and uncertain Danger of *Miltiades*'s Infidelity, than that preſent, and far greater one which threatned them from thoſe, who openly deſigned the Ruin and Deſtruction of their City. Suſpicion never admits Reaſon into its Council, nor does ſuch fear ſtand to weigh the Importance of things, or ſuffer Gratitude to get the better of it. That Commonwealth choſe to let one, though the moſt deſerving, of its Citizens lie in Priſon and Infamy, rather than all the reſt ſhould live in continual Jealouſies. The *Carthaginians* took the Government of *Spain* from *Sappho*, under pretence, indeed, of adminiſtring the Commonwealth at home; but the true Reaſon was, that they could no longer ſuffer his Power and Authority. Thus they baniſhed his Succeſſor, *Hanno*, who was ſo eminent for his Navigations, only becauſe he had more Ingenuity and Induſtry than they thought ſafe for a free People. He was the firſt Man they ever ſaw ſtroke a Lion, and make it tame, and began to apprehend he would at laſt ſubdue them, who had vanquiſhed the Savage Beaſts. Thus Commonwealths are uſed to recompence Services and great Actions. No one of the Citizens takes himſelf in particular to be honoured, or obliged by any good Office is done to the Community; as to Offences and Suſpicion, every one thinks himſelf concerned. If any one's to be rewarded, very few give him their Votes; on the contrary, to find a Man guilty all are zealous. He that is more excellent than others, is thereby in danger; for his Zeal for the Publick Good accuſes their negligence;

his

his Prudence their Ignorance. Hence 'tis ſo dangerous to be ſerviceable and obſequious to Princes; hence Virtue and Induſtry become like Vices, odious. *Salluſt*, who had a Capacity fit for the moſt important buſineſs, to avoid Envy, feigned himſelf to be idle and drowſy (2). But the worſt of all is, that ſometimes a Prince is diſpleaſed at being awakened by a vigilant Miniſter, whom he would rather have as careleſs as himſelf. To remedy this, as there is an Hypocriſy which counterfeits Virtues, and diſſembles Vices; there is need of another to conceal Valour and Excellency of Mind, and to ſtop the mouth of Fame. 'Twas undoubtedly nothing but the fear of Envy made *Agricola* ſo careful to hide his, that they who ſaw in him ſo much Humility and Modeſty, unleſs they had otherwiſe heard of his Fame, could never gueſs at his Renown by his Perſon (3). Time made *Germanicus* ſenſible of this inconveniency, but he choſe to bear rather than amend it, when after the Conqueſt of ſo many Nations, he erected indeed a Trophy, but for fear of Fame put not his Name to it (4). St. *John* concealed his, in the relation of the ſignal Favour our Saviour ſhew'd him at his laſt Supper (5), which if 'twas not humane Policy, was at leaſt prudent Modeſty. Even meer Dreams about ones own Promotion breeds Envy amongſt Brothers. *Joſeph* almoſt hazarded his Life, when with more Ingenuity than Diſcretion, he told his the Dream he had of the Sheafs of Corn that made obeiſance to his that ſtood upright among the reſt; for the very Shadow of Eminence, nay, the bare poſſibility of excelling makes Envy ſolicitous. Glory is dangerous, as

(2) *Cui vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par ſuberat, eo magis, ut invidiam amoliretur, ſomnum & inertiam oſtentabat.* Tac. 5 Ann. (3) *Viſo aſpectoque Agricola quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (4) *Debellatis inter Rhenum, Albimque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Cæſaris ea Monumenta Marti, & Jovi, & Auguſto ſacraviſſe, de ſe nihil addidit, metu invidiæ, an ratus conſcientiam facti eſſe ſatis.* Tac. 1. Ann (5) Now there was leaning on Jeſus's boſom, one of his Diſciples whom Jeſus loved. *John* 13. 23.

well

well becauſe of our own Virtues, as other Mens Vices (6). Vice is not ſo feared in Men becauſe it makes them Slaves, as Virtue that makes them Maſters; for Dominion is by nature her ſelf given to it, and this Republicks won't ſuffer to be lodged in the Perſon of one, but would have equally divided among all. Virtue is a kind of voluntary tyranny over Minds, has no leſs influence on them, than Violence it ſelf, or Compulſion; and indeed, to excite Republicks to Imitation, 'tis the ſame thing abſolutely whether the People be induced by Reaſon or by Force, conſtrained to obey one only; for the firſt Tyranny, the juſter 'tis, the more dangerous and irreſiſtible. This very thing gave riſe to the Oſtraciſm, or Ten Years Baniſhment, to which *Ariſtides*, among others, was condemned; whoſe only Crime, was his having the Reputation of a good and juſt Man. The Peoples Favour is a very dangerous Friend to Virtue; for their Applauſe and Approbation is puniſhed as a fault, as you may ſee in the Perſon of *Galerian* (7). So *Germanicus* learned by experience, that the *Roman* Peoples love was fickle and unfortunate (8). Neither Princes nor Commonwealths much deſire Miniſters of extraordinary Excellency, but ſuch as have a competent Skill to manage Affairs, and this reaſon *Tacitus* gives why *Poppæus Sabinus* was continued Four and twenty Years in the Government of the moſt conſiderable Provinces (9). 'Tis therefore a piece of great Prudence to know how to conceal ones Fame, and conſequently to beware of all Oſtentation of Wit, Valour, or Excellency, and cover all ſublime Thoughts, as they ſay, with Aſhes; though I confeſs, 'tis difficult for a noble Mind to confine to the narrow compaſs of its own Breaſt, a Flame that breaks out on

(6) *Agricola ſimul ſuis virtutibus, ſimul vitiis aliorum in ipſam gloriam præceps agebatur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (7) *Nihil auſus, ſed nomen inſigne, & decora ipſi juventa, rumore vulgi celebrabantur.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (8) *Breves & infauſtos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. Ann. (9) *Nullam ob eximiam artem, ſed quod par negotiis, neque ſupra erat.* Tac. 6. Ann.

all

all sides, and daily requires new Fuel to increase it, and make it shine with the greater Lustre. But this we may be perswaded to by the Examples of these Illustrious Heroes, who heretofore from the Dictatorship returned to the Plough; and of those that after a Triumphant Entry into the City of *Rome* by Breaches, because the Gates were not large enough; that after the Conquest of whole Nations, have retreated to poor despicable Cottages, whither afterwards the Commonwealth has come to find them out. Nor had that ever brought them so soon into play again had it not seen they were not ambitious of Honour; for that like a Shadow flies him that pursues it, follows him that flies it. His Fame and Reputation is greatest, who strives to conceal it. *Rubellius Plautus* was thought to deserve the Empire because he lived retired (10); but 'tis not so in Monarchies, where one ascends higher by having begun to ascend. A Prince has Men of Courage and Bravery in great esteem, Republicks fear them rather; that animates them by Rewards and Presents, these discourage them by Ingratitude: Nor is fear of their Liberty always the reason of it, but 'tis also a pretence to Cloak their Envy and Emulation under. If any one be the Object of all Mens favour and applause, he is usually suspected and envied; which rarely happens in Princes, who don't easily envy their Subjects Glory; but if they do any thing commendable, they attribute it to themselves, as being the Execution of their Orders. This has been observable in the Emperor *Otho* (11). Prudent Ministers ought therefore to attribute to the Prince the happy Success of things; taking warning by the Example of *Silius*, who incurred *Tiberius*'s Displeasure by boasting that he alone kept the Legions to their Duty; and using to say often, that *Tiberius* was

(10) *Omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Juliâ familiâ, ipse placita majorum colebat, habitu severo, cultu & secretâ domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus.* Tac. 14. Ann. (11) *Gloriam in se trahente, tanquam, & ipse fœlix bello, & suis ducibus, & suis exercitibus Remp. auxisset.* Tac. 1. Hist.

indebted

indebted to him only for his Empire: For *Cæſar* thought at this rate his Fortune would be deſtroyed, and that he was unable to make return to ſo great Merit (12). Nor was *Veſpaſian* diſpleaſed with *Antonius Primus* for any thing, but too frequently mentioning his own Merits (13). *Agricola* was far more prudent, who never magnified his Exploits for his own Fame, but attributed all his Succeſs to his Superiors (14). *Joab* has left an Illuſtrious Example of this to all Generals; who, when he had forced any City to Surrender, ſent word before to King *David* to bring up new Forces, that the Surrender might be aſcribed to his Conduct (15). The Ancient *Germans* were above others commended for this, who lay under a ſtrict Obligation, not only to defend and preſerve their Prince, but alſo to attribute the Glory of their own brave Actions to him (16). For theſe reaſons a Perſon is much ſecurer of a Recompence for the Services he does a Prince, than thoſe done a Commonwealth; and will with more eaſe get the Favour of the one than the other (17). Beſides, that there's leſs danger in offending that than this; for the Multitude knows not what Connivance, Mercy, or Danger are; it is equally raſh in its Reſolutions, whether the thing to be attempted be dangerous or unjuſt; for either the Fear or Blame is divided among many, and each Man perſwades himſelf the danger is not like to fall on his Pate, that the Infamy belongs not

(12) *Deſtrui per hæc fortunam ſuam, Cæſar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Nimius commemorandis quæ meruiſſet.* Tac. 4. Hiſt. (14) *Nec Agricola unquam ſuam famam geſtis exultavit, ad auctorem & ducem, ut Miniſter, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obſequendo, verecundia in prædicando extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (15) Now therefore gather the People together, and encamp againſt the City, and take it, leaſt I take the City, and it be called after my name. *Lat. Verſ. Et nomini meo aſcribatur victoria.* 2 Sam. 12. 28. (16) *Principem ſuum defendere, tueri, ſua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus aſſignare, præcipuum Sacramentum erat.* Tac. lib. de Germ. (17) *Tarda ſunt quæ in commune expoſtulantur, privatam gratiam ſtatim mereare, ſtatim recipias.* Tac. 1. Ann.

to

to him (18). A Community has no Forehead to bluſh, as a Prince has, who is with great reaſon ſolicitous for his own Perſon chiefly, as well as for his Reputation, and that of his Poſterity. All Men flatter a Prince, ſetting before him the things that lead to Glory, in Republicks few are concerned for the Publick Honour, almoſt all for Security (19). A Prince has his Subjects to content, in a Community that care and trouble ceaſes; for what it undertakes or does, is by the Common Counſel of all, and ſo every one is thought to be concerned in it. And hence I imagine it comes to paſs, that Commonwealths (I mean not ſuch as are in a manner Kingly) are ſo unconſtant and falſe in the Obſervation of Treaties; for that only is juſt with them, which ſeems to be for the Intereſt of their Preſervation, Grandeur, and the Liberty they ſo much advance, in which they are extreamly Superſtitious. They imagine they worſhip true Liberty, and with a ſervile Submiſſion adore infinite tyrannical Idols. Every one thinks he Commands, and all Obey; they are all provided with an Antidote againſt the Poyſon of Monarchy, and the Sovereignty of many they greedily and ſecurely ſwallow; they fear nothing more than the Tyranny of Foreigners, take no notice of that at home. Liberty is talkt of every where, found no where. All are poſſeſſed of it in Imagination, none in Reality. Let the *United Provinces* now make a Compariſon between the Liberty they formerly had, and that they enjoy at preſent, and diligently examine which of the two has the Advantage; whether they ever underwent the ſame Slavery then, ſuffered thoſe Loſes and Taxes they at this day ſenſibly experiment. Let the Subjects of ſome Commonwealths, nay the Magiſtrates themſelves, in whoſe Hands the Government is, think whether it were poſſible for any Tyrant to enſlave them more than thoſe very Perſons

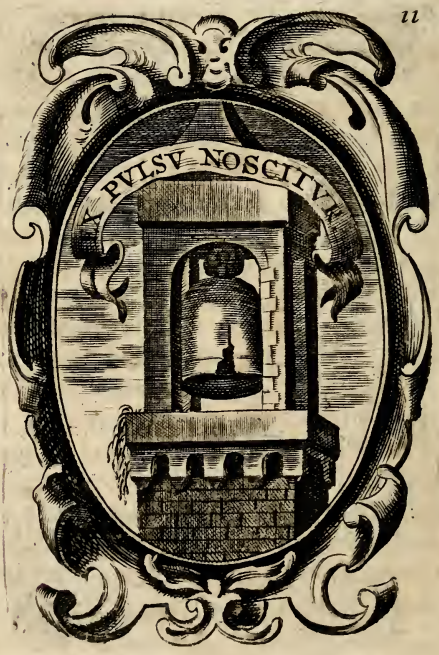
(18) *Ita trepidi, & utrinque anxii coeunt; nemo privatim, expedito conſilio, inter multos, ſocietate culpæ tutior.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (19) *Paucis decus publicum curæ, plures tuta diſſerunt.* Tac, 12. Ann.

they

they have ſet up to Aſſert their Liberty, when there is not one that really enjoys it in his Actions. They are all miſerable Slaves to their own Jealouſies; the Magiſtracy is its own Tyrant; and it may be truly ſaid of both, that they live without a Maſter, but not with Liberty (20); for the more they ſtrive to diſengage themſelves from the Bonds of Slavery, the faſter they are bound with them (21).

(20) *Magis ſine Domino, quam in libertate.* Tac. 2. Ann. (21) *Sed dum veritati conſulitur, libertas corrumpebatur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

EMBLEM XI.



THE Tongue is an Inſtrument, by the help of which the Mind diſcovers its Sentiments, for it expreſſes it ſelf either by that, or by the Pen, which like

like a silent Tongue sometimes supplies its place, drawing on Paper the Words which should have been uttered by the Voice. From both the one, and the other, one may draw a probable conjecture of a Man's Parts and Capacity. *For by Speech, Wisdom shall be known, and Learning by the Word of the Tongue* (1). Hence King *Alphonso*, the Wise, speaking in his Laws how a Prince ought to carry himself in his Conversation, what Moderation he should use in speaking; among other things says, Multiloquy makes their Words unregarded, and if a King be not a Man of good Sense, his Tongue soon discovers the defect; for as an Earthen Pot is tried by the Sound, so is a Man's Sense by his Words †. A Comparison which he seems to have borrowed from this Passage of *Persius*:

——— Sonat vitium percussa malignè,
Respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.

Speech is the minds Countenance; by that is discovered whether it be sound or not (2). To represent this, I have made use of another nobler Emblem, and more accommodated to the Subject; 'tis a Bell, the true Emblem of a Prince; for as that is hung up in the most eminent place of the City, it times, and regulates all the Citizens Actions; and if the Metal be not good, or it has any other fault in't, 'tis by its Sound presently discerned (3). So a Prince is a kind of general Clock to all his Subjects, who in a great measure depend, as I may say, upon the Motion of his Words, and by them he either gets or loses a Reputation, every one giving himself to guess at his Genius, Wit, and Inclinations, by his Discourse. Not a Word escapes his Hearers, each one makes a deep Impression on their

(1) Eccles. cap 4. 29. † L 5. tit. 4. p. 2. (2) *Oratio vultus animi est, si circumtonsa est & fucata, & manufacta, ostendit illum non esse sincerum, & habere aliquid fracti.* Sen Epist. 115. (3) *Vas fictile ictu & sono, homo sermone probatur.* Meliss. Serm 48. Tom. 5. Bibl.

Memory, they are repeated to others, and exposed to the Censure of all, who usually put various Constructions upon them, as they think fit. Nay, even, what comes from him in private and unawares, passes for profound and mysterious, and not for casual and accidental. It were therefore very proper for them not to be extemporary but premeditated (4), not spoken without a previous Consideration of all the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons. For—— *Nescit vox missa reverti,* —— as *Horace* says, seconded by King *Alphonso*, *For this reason all Men, especially a King, ought to take great care of his Words before he utters them, for when they are once out of the Mouth, there is no Man can recal them* †. Whence may arise very great Inconveniences, for the Words of Kings are the principal Instruments of Government (5). Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue (6); as also the Honour and Ignominy, the Prosperity and Ruin of Subjects. This made *Aristotle*, when he sent *Callisthenes* to *Alexander* the Great, advise him to talk little with him, and only upon agreeable Subjects; for that 'twas a dangerous thing to Treat with one who carried the Power of Life and Death at his Tongues end. There's not a Word comes from a Prince's Mouth without a peculiar Emphasis: Is it about Business, they are Commands; if of Crimes, they are Sentences; if of Promises, Obligations; by his Words he is either obeyed or disobeyed. Let Princes therefore take care how they use this Tongue of theirs, which Nature has not meerly by chance fenced and inclosed with, as it were, a Wall of Teeth; nor is there less need of a Bridle for the Tongue, than for a Horse (7). 'Tis, it is true, one of the least Members of the Body, but 'tis like the Rudder of a Ship, on whose Motion the loss or safety of the whole Vessel de-

(5) A Fool travaileth with a Word, as a Woman in labour of a Child. *Eccles.* 19. 11. † L. 1. tit. 4. part. 2. (5) Where the Word of a King is, there is power. *Eccl.* 8. 4. (6) Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue, *Prov.* 18. 21. (7) *Eccl.* 28. 29.

pends

pends. The Tongue is placed in a wet place, and so easily slips, unless stai'd by Prudence. Hence that Prayer of *David*; *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, keep the Door of my Lips* (8).

For a Prince to condescend to a familiar Conversation with any one, lessens his Character, prostitutes his Authority, and brings many other Inconveniences upon him, unless he do it for Information; for every Man desires to have a wise Prince, and one that understands his Affairs very well; which is next to an impossibility, for a Prince can't know all things (9); and if he answer in the least from the purpose, he shall be presently condemned for Insufficiency or Negligence. Besides, that Princes Talents and Endowments very rarely answer the generally received Opinion of them; therefore to avoid the danger of this, the *Roman* Emperors chose to Treat with their Subjects by Notes, and give them Answers in Writing, as well to get time for Deliberation, as because the Pen is less subject to mistake than the Tongue; for this can't handsomely defer an Answer, that can. *Sejanus*, however great a Favourite of *Tiberius*'s, conferr'd only with him by way of Memorial (10). There are, however, some Affairs which may be better treated of by Word of Mouth; particularly, when there's something of danger in leaving ones Sentiments in anothers hands, which are a kind of perpetual Evidence, and more liable to be wrested to different meanings than Words, which as they quickly pass, and stick not deep in the Memory, are not so easily actionable. But whether a Prince gives his Answers this, or the other way, he should always remember, that brevity is the most prudent, and most becoming a Prince's Majesty (11). Hence *Tacitus* gives that Epithet Imperial to Brevity (12).

(8) Psalm 140. 3. (9) *Neque posse Principem sua scientia cuncta complecti.* Tac 3. Ann. (10) *Componit ad Cæsarem codicillos: moris quippe tum erat quamquam præsentem scripto adire.* Tac. 4. Ann. (11) *Multum brevi sermone inest prudentiæ* Sophocl. (12) *Imperatoria brevitate.* Tac. 1. Hist.

You should use the Tongue as your Sword, that is, not lay your self too open to your Adversary; he that discloses his whole Mind, exposes himself to Danger. Concise Discourses have the greatest Efficacy, and leave most room for Reflection. Nothing's so like a King, as to talk little, and hear much. Nor is it less requisite for him to know how to be silent, than how to speak. In this, Men are our Masters. In that, God himself, who always injoyns Silence in his Mysteries. He resembles the Divinity most, who has learnt to hold his Peace. *Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wise, and he that shutteth his Lips is esteemed a Man of understanding* (13). *The heart of fools is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wise is in their heart* (14). This is Prudence to avoid both Extreams, for each has its danger:

All to Talk, or none,
Are distant, and yet neighbouring Faults. Auson.

'Tis then only convenient to speak, when Silence prejudices either the Prince or Truth. Majesty by a Nod only sufficiently explains its self. Silence well-timed, is in Princes great Eloquence; and a grave and modest Carriage are usually more significantly expressive of one's Thoughts than Words themselves. But if one's obliged to use these at any time, they ought to be sincere, and with liberty in thinking becoming a King.

Your free Conceptions dress in plain Words. Taff.

For by too many Asseverations, Oaths, and unnecessary Proofs, they either quite lose their Credit, or at least are rendred suspicious; they ought then to be Grave without Moroseness; Graceful without Affectation; of Force without Roughness; lastly, Common

(13) Prov. cap. 17. (14) Eccles 21. 29.

nos

not Vulgar. Even with God, Words well ordered, seem to have most weight and influence (15).

But the Tongue and Pen require no where more prudent Moderation than in Promises, in which Princes either out of a natural Generosity, or to obtain their Ends with more ease, or to avoid a Danger, are usually extravagant; which when they can't perform, they lose their Credit, and procure themselves Enemies, so that it had been better not to have been so lavish of them. There have been more Wars occasioned by the Breach of Promises than by Injuries. For Interest is seldom in these so much concerned as in them. And Princes are generally moved more by their own Advantage than by Injuries received. To make large Promises, and not keep them, is interpreted by a Superior, an Affront; by an Equal, Injustice; by an Inferior, Tyranny (16). The Tongue therefore should not be too forward to promise, without assurance that the Promise can be performed (17).

In Threats also, the Tongue easily goes beyond its Limits; for the Heat of Anger soon puts it in Motion, and when Revenge can't equal the Passion, of necessity Prudence; nay, and Supream Power must lose not a little of their Credit. 'Tis therefore much more adviseable to dissemble Injuries, that the Effects of Satisfaction may be considered before the Prince threatens it. He that uses Menaces before his Hands, designs either to make them the only Instruments of his Revenge, or to give his Enemy warning. There's no more terrible threatning than Silence. If mine's already let off, no one is afraid; those are always more formidable that lie still conceal'd under-ground; for the Effects of the Imagination are usually greater than those of the Senses.

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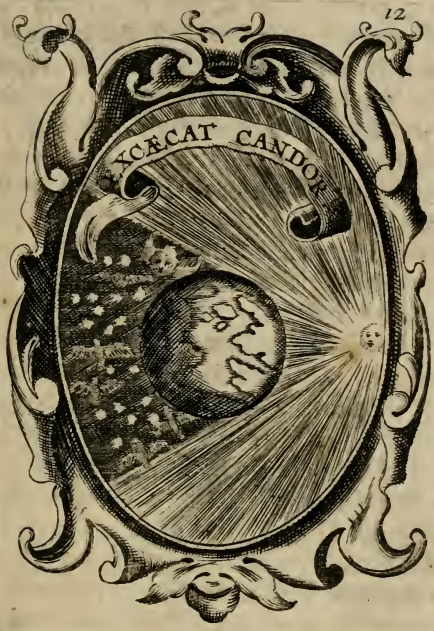
(15) Job 41. 3. (16) Better is it that thou shouldest not vow, than that thou shouldest vow and not pay. *Eccles.* 5. 5. (17) Be not hasty in thy Tongue, and in thy Deeds slack and remiss, *Ecc.* 4. 29.

Detraction has in it a great mixture of Envy and Ostentation; it is always almost of an Inferior towards his Superior, and consequently much below a Prince, by whose Lips no Man's Honour ought to be brought in question. If he sees Vices, he should punish them; if other small Defects, correct or connive at them.

The praise of brave Actions and Services is a part of their Reward; excites the Person commended to, as it were an Emulation of himself, and is a Spur to others. However, to commend all Subjects indifferently, is not without danger. For the Judgment they pass on them being various and uncertain, and that Praise, a kind of definitive Sentence, time may discover to have been rashly given; in the mean time, the Prince's Honour will oblige him not to retract easily what he has once approved. As well therefore for this reason, as not to give occasion to Envy, great Circumspection is required in praising Persons, which is also one of the Holy Spirit's Oracles, *Judge no one blessed before his Death* (18). It was a principal Maxim among the *Stoicks*, to commend no one rashly, because scarce any thing can be affirmed with certainty, and we are often deceived in things that appear to us most praiseworthy.

(18) Vid. Lat. Vers. *Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quenquam.* Eccles. 11. 30.

EMBLEM XII.



THE Heart of Man, Nature, that skilful Architect, has hid in the moſt retired part of the Breaſt; however, leaſt probably, ſeeing it ſelf thus concealed, and without Witneſſes, it ſhould do any thing againſt the Law of Reaſon, ſhe has withal given Man that native Colour or Fire of Blood, for Modeſty to inflame his Countenance withal, and accuſe his Heart, if it deviate from Honour in any thing, or think otherwiſe than the Tongue ſpeaks, both which ought always to have the ſame Motion, and a mutual Agreement in all things. But Malice by degrees effaces that Mark which is uſed in Children to ſhew its ſelf. Hence the *Romans* well-knowing the importance of Truth for the eſtabliſhment of Society, and maintaining Commerce in the Commonwealth; and deſiring nothing more

than to preserve the shame of deserting it among Men, hung about their Childrens Neck a Golden Heart, (which they called *Bulla*) an Hieroglyphick, says *Ausonius*, invented by *Pythagoras*, to signify the Ingenuity Men ought to profess in Conversation, and the Sincerity they should observe in Truth, wearing at their Breast, a Heart uncovered, as it were, and open, the Genuine Emblem of that Truth. And this we commonly mean, when speaking of a Man of Veracity, we say he carries his Heart in his Hands, or that he is open-hearted. The same the *Egyptian* Priests signified by the Sapphire they put upon their Princes Breasts, to represent emblematically the same Truth; as their Ministers of Justice also used to wear about them some Figure of it. Nor should any one imagine, that for the Prince to be so sincere, and professed a Lover of Truth, would perhaps but give an occasion to Deceit and Cozenage; for on the contrary, nothing is more effectual in preventing those Cheats, and driving away Lyes, which never dare look Truth in the face. The same Observation I take that advice of *Pythagoras* to allude to, never to speak with one's Back towards the Sun; thereby intimating that nothing ought to be uttered repugnant to Truth; for a Liar can't bear the bright Rays of Truth, signified by the Sun upon a double account, both because of the Sun's Unity; as for that it disperses Darkness, and drives away Shades, restoring to all things their true Light and proper Colours, as the present Emblem shews; where as soon as that Luminary is got above the Horizon, the Obscurity of Night immediately flies, and the Nocturnal Birds retire to the Woods dark Coverts, which in that's absence, and favoured by the Silence of Night, use while others sleep, to seek their Prey. What Confusion is the Owl in, if by chance she comes into the Sun's presence? In that glittering Light she Staggers to and fro, and is confounded, that Splendor quite blinds her, and frustrates all her Tricks. Can any one have so much Subtilty and Craft, but they will presently fail him when he comes before

before an ingenuous Prince, and one that is a particular Friend to Sincerity and Truth (1)?

There's no force able to penetrate into the Deſigns of a candid Mind, if that Candor want not ſome Retirements for Prudence. Is there any thing more open and evident to the Eyes of the World, any thing more reſplendent, more oppoſed to Shadows and Darkneſs than the Sun? Nevertheleſs, if any one will look ſtedfaſt upon its Rays, he will diſcover I know not what Abuſes, as 'twere, and Obſcurities of Light, which ſo darken the Eyes, that what they ſaw, they can't tell. Thus Knavery is blinded with the Light of Truth, and its Foundations overturned, nor can it find any more a way to delude with its Artifices. 'Tis a Victory truly worthy a Prince, to conquer Frauds and Cheats with Ingenuity, Lyes with Truth. To lye is a ſlaviſh Vice, and conſequently very unbecoming the generous Mind of Princes, who above all Men ſhould endeavour to render themſelves like God, who is Truth it ſelf (2). *Whence Kings*, (ſays King *Alphonſo*) *who keep its place upon Earth, and to whom it particularly belongs to guard it, ought to take ſpecial care not to contradict it by falſity; if a King ſhould once give himſelf to Lying, he will not be believed, even when he ſpeaks truth, and will farther give incouragement to others to follow his Example.* This inconveniency *Tiberius* experimented, who often pretending to reſtore Liberty and the Conſular Government to the Commonwealth, and to remit the Management of Affairs to others, cauſed the People to miſtruſt him when he meant really and honeſtly (3).

The greater Monarchs are, they are the more expoſed to Vanity and Lyes (4). The Rays of a plentiful Fortune eaſily contract the Clouds of Detraction.

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(1) *Magni præſentia veri.* Virgil. (2) Excellent Speech becometh not a Fool; much leſs do lying Lips a Prince. *Prov.* 17. 7. (3) *Ad vana & toties irriſa revolutus de reddenda Rerub. utque conſules, ſeu quis alius, regimen ſuſciperet, vero quoque & honeſto fidem demſit.* Tac. 4 Ann. (4) *Cuncta magnis impetis objectari ſolita.* Tac. 4. Ann.

In

In great Empires all things have the worſt Conſtruction put upon them, and are obnoxious to Reproaches. What open Force can't do, Calumny by ſecret Mines attempts, in which thing he that hath the Rule over others, has need of great Courage, not to change his Courſe, or ſuffer himſelf to be ſtopt by the Clamours of Cavillers. This conſtancy and firmneſs of Mind has always eminently appeared in the Kings of *Spain*, to whom it has been, in a manner, natural to deſpiſe Envy and Calumny; by which means alone, many Clouds of that Nature have been diſpelled, which as Majeſty raiſes, ſo it alſo by the force of Truth diſſipates, as the Sun's Heat does Vapours. What infamous Libels, what manifeſt Falſities, what forg'd Stories, what Calumnies have malicious Men often ſpread againſt the *Spaniſh* Monarchy? Nor for all this, could that Envy be able to caſt the leaſt Blemiſh upon its ſo juſt Adminiſtration of the Kingdoms 'tis poſſeſſed of in *Europe*, becauſe that is open to the World, and viſible to all. Among other things, by new contriv'd Devices, and ſtudied Lyes to render its Government odious, and ſo make the Rebellious Princes leſs deſirous of a Reconciliation: I know not what Author, under the Name of the Biſhop of *Chapa*, has publiſhed a Book, wherein he gives a large Account of the Inhumane and Barbarous Uſage the *Indians* received from the *Spaniards*; and that thoſe Lyes might have a more eaſy Credit; the Book was firſt ſpread about in *Spain*, as Printed at *Sevil*, afterwards Tranſlated into other Languages. An ingenious Invention indeed, and accute piece of Malice, and of more conſequence than perhaps can be believed, for upon ſome eaſy Minds it had very ill Effect, though moſt of the more prudent ſort ſoon diſcovered the Cheat; in as much as all thoſe things are abundantly confuted by the extraordinary Zeal for Religion and Juſtice, the *Spaniſh* Nation always with great Conſtancy exerciſes and maintains all over the World, nor is it unlike its ſelf in the *Indies* only. I won't however deny, but at the firſt Invaſion of

America,

America, ſome things happened not altogether to be approved, but this was only by their fault, who thinking this Known World too little for their vaſt Minds, had the boldneſs by the Permiſſion, rather than Command, or Choice of their King to try their Fortune in other Parts, and diſcover New Countries hitherto unknown, where they found a barbarous People, Idolatrous to Superſtition, more Savage than Beaſts, who brutally lived on Man's Fleſh, whoſe Inhumanity was incorrigible but by force and utmoſt rigour. But it was not long before their Catholick Majeſties provoided a Remedy againſt theſe Diſorders, for they ſent to thoſe Coaſts Commiſſaries to puniſh thoſe ſeverely they found had been guilty; and to maintain entire Juſtice among the *Indians*, they gave afterwards many Paternal Orders for their Preſervation, of which it was none of the leaſt to exempt them from thoſe ſevere Labours they daily underwent in the Mines, and in other things before the Diſcovery of thoſe Countries. They ſent beſides, Divines with great Zeal to teach them the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Faith; founded Biſhopricks at their own Expences, and thoſe of the Crown, and maintained Religious Convents for the benefit of that new planted Church, without ſuffering them from the time thoſe vaſt Countries fell into the *Spaniards* hands, even in the abſence of their new Maſters, to want any any thing which 'tis a King's Duty to ſupply his Subjects withal. In which the Government of this State, and the Vigilance of its Miniſters, may in a manner ſeem to ſurpaſs that of the Sun it's ſelf, of the Moon and Stars, and the Influence they have over things below; for but a few hours, in which the Sun's preſence lightens one Hemiſphere; the other is in Confuſion, while Malice cloaths and covers its ſelf with the Darkneſs of Night, and under the Mask, as it were, of that Obſcurity commits Murders, Robberies, Adulteries, and every thing that's ill, the Sun's providence not being able to prevent them, though, indeed, even in the Night he ſpreads ſome Twilight above the Horizon, or

in

in the interim leaves the performance of his Office to the Moon as his Vicegerent, and the Stars as his Ministers, and communicates to them the Authority of his Rays. From this our World, the Kings of *Spain* govern that other in Justice, Peace, and Religion, with the same Political Happiness the Kingdoms of *Castile* enjoy to their satisfaction. But least the Envious and Enemies of the *Spanish* Monarchy should triumph with these their Artifices, and that all the Calumnies of that Book may be entirely overthrown, let us suppose all those Evils, which Malice has feigned the *Indians* to have suffered, to be true; and compare them to what have been really undergone in our own time in several Wars, as well against *Genoa*, as in *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *Lorrain*, and 'twill appear clearer than light, that that lye comes far short of the truth of these. What cruel Torments have Tyrants ever invented against Innocence, which in these our times we have not seen put in practice, not against inhumane and barbarous People, but civilized Nations; and those not always Enemies, but even their own Members, without respect to Propinquity of Blood, or Piety towards their Country? How often have we seen Auxiliary Forces turn their Weapons upon them that sent them? Defence been more bloody than open Offence? Protection become immediate Destruction; Friendship, Hostility? Not a stately Edifice, not a Sacred Place, has been spared by Fire and Sword: In a little time we have seen an infinite number of Towns, Forts, and Cities, buried in their own Ashes; and Countries very populous changed into most Solitary Deserts. Nor yet, could that Thirst of Humane Blood be quench'd or satisfied. 'Twas no new thing then to try Pistols and Swords upon Mens Breasts, as Bodies of Trees, and that not only in the heat of Battel, but in cool Blood, 'twas then a very agreeable Spectacle to see the deformed Looks, and trimbling Limbs of Men exspiring. How often have Mens Bellies ript open served for Mangers? Sometimes in those of Women ('tis dreadful to mention it) their tender Embryo's were

were mixt with Straw and Oats, and made Provender for Horſes. At the Expence of Life, 'twas try'd, how much Water a Man's Body would hold, or how long one could live without Suſtenance. Nuns were violated, Daughters of good Families diſhonoured, Wives raviſhed in the very ſight of their Parents and Husbands. Women, as all other Spoil or Plunder, were either ſold or exchanged for Cows or Horſes, and Labourers were put to Chariots, and compell'd to draw them as Horſes; and to make them diſcover where their Riches lay, hung by the Feet and Members, and thus let down into hot Furnaces. There Children were barbarouſly murdered before their Eyes, that Paternal Affection might in the Grief of theſe their deareſt Pledges effect what ſelf-love could not oblige them to. In Woods and Foreſts where Wild Beaſts find refuge, Men could not; for the Blood-hounds chaſed them thence, and brought them to the Stake. The deepeſt Lakes were not ſecure from ſo Ingenious Covetouſneſs and Rapine; the Effects of theſe wretched People were rak'd thence with Hooks and Nets. Not ſo much as dead Mens Bones were ſuffered to reſt, Tombs and Grave-ſtones were thrown down to ſearch under them for Treaſures. There's no magical, no deviliſh Art which they put not in practice to diſcover their Money. Many thouſand Men periſhed by Cruelty and Covetouſneſs, not by their own Baſeneſs, as the *Indians*, whoſe Extirpation Divine Juſtice permitted, for having been ſo many Ages Rebels to their Creator. I mention not theſe things to accuſe any Nation in particular; for I am aſſured moſt, if not all, have acted their Parts in this Barbarous and Inhumane Tragedy; but only to vindicate that of the *Spaniards* from Calumny. The ſweeteſt and beſt fram'd Mind is ſometimes in danger of tranſgreſſing its Limits. 'Tis the weakneſs of our frail Nature, to be ſubject to commit the moſt brutiſh Action, if it want the Bridle of Religion and Juſtice.

EMBLEM XIII.

THE Moon ſupplies the Sun's abſence, in preſiding over Night; upon the various Motions, upon the Increaſe and Decreaſe of that, depend the Vigor and Conſervation of things here below; and although that is as much more beautiful as theſe be obſcure, and of themſelves weak, as receiving their Being from its Light; yet there's no one, either upon that account, or for its other innumerable Benefits, takes much notice of it, even, at the height of its Splendor. But if it be at any time by the Interpoſition of the Earth Eclipſed, and diſcover the defects of its Body, not as before illuminated by the Sun, but dark and opacous, immediately all Mens Eyes are upon it, all obſerve it; nay, this Accident Curioſity long before anticipates, and meaſures its Steps every moment. What are Princes,

but

but a kind of Terreſtrial Planets and Moons, on which that Divine Sun of Juſtice diffuſes its Rays for the Government of the Earth? For if thoſe Stars have Power over things, theſe have over minds. This I imagine made the *Perſian* Kings endeavour by a ſort of falſe Rays to imitate the Form of the Sun and Moon, to make themſelves eſteemed equal to thoſe Planets. *Sapor*, one of them in a Letter to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, called himſelf Brother to the Sun and Moon (1). Princes, their Dignity makes conſpicuous among other Men, as placed in the higheſt Orbs of Power and Empire, and ſo expoſed to all Mens Cenſures. They are *Coleſſi*, or vaſt Statues, whoſe Parts can't bear the leaſt Diſproportion one to another, but others Eyes will preſently be upon it. They ought therefore to be very circumſpect in their Actions, ſince they are the Objects of the whole World's Attention; and tho' their good ones paſs ſometimes without Remark, their Faults will never eſcape Obſervation. Curioſity employs a hundred Eyes, and far more Ears, to penetrate Princes moſt Secret Thoughts. They ſeem like that Stone in *Zachariah*, upon which were Seven Eyes (2). For which reaſon, in the higheſt Grandeur there is leaſt Liberty (3).

The Prince's Hand keeps time in that Muſical Conſort, which good and prudent Government makes; if this time be not regular and even, there ariſes a Confuſion of Voices, and the Harmony is diſordered in others, in that all follow the Motion of that. Hence 'tis, that States generally reſemble their Princes, and ſooner the ill than the good; for as Subjects uſe ſo carefully to obſerve their Vices, they make an Impreſſion on their Minds, and are eaſily afterwards imitated out of Flattery. For Vicious Princes not only commit

(1) *Rex Regum Sapor, particeps ſiderum, & frater ſolis, & Lunæ, Conſtantio fratri meo ſalutem.* Ammain. Marcel. lib 4. (2) Zach. 3. 9. (3) *Qui magno imperio præditi in excelſo ætatem agunt, eorumque facta cuncti mortales noverè, ita maximâ fortunâ minima licentia eſt.* Saluſt.

Vices

Vices themſelves, but infuſe them into their People, and are more blameable for the Example than the Fault; and experience tells us, that bad Habits commonly do more miſchief than the very beſt do good; for ſuch is the perverſe Inclination of our Nature, that it rather ſtudies to imitate Vices than Virtues. How Great, how Excellent, were thoſe of *Alexander* the Great? Yet, the Emperor *Caracalla* ſtrove to reſemble him in nothing but that Habit he had of leaning his Head on his Left Shoulder. Though, indeed, ſome of a Prince's Vices prejudice himſelf only; others affect alſo the Commonwealth, as *Tacitus* has obſerved in *Vitellius* and *Otho* (4). Yet they are all extreamly prejudicial to Subjects by the Example they give. Our eaſy Tempers are biaſs'd by Princes (5); we follow their Example, whether they be Good or Evil, like thoſe Wheels in *Ezekiel*'s Viſion, which in all things exactly followed the Motion of the Cherubims (6). Each Action of Princes ſeems to be a Command to be obeyed by Imitation (7). Subjects imagine they do their Prince an agreeable piece of Service in imitating his Vices, and ſeeing theſe are Maſters of the Will; Flattery eaſily perſwades her ſelf this muſt be the way to gain it. Thus *Tigellinus* grew daily more Bold and Confident, thinking his ill Practices would be leſs unacceptable, if he could engage his Prince *(Nero)* to be his Aſſociate in them (8). By this means 'tis the Commonwealth is diſordered, and Virtue confounded. Princes ſhould therefore lead ſuch a Life, ſo form their Manners, that all may learn by them to be Virtuous and Honeſt; which advice they have given them by King *Alphonſo*, in the Sixth of his Law.

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(4) *Vitellius ventre, & gula ſibi ipſi hoſtis: Otho luxu, ſævitia, audatia Reipub. exitioſior ducebatur.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (5) *Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur à principibus, atque, ut ita dicam, ſequentes ſumus.* Plin. in Paneg. (6) Ezek. 10. 16. (7) *Ea conditio principum, ut quicquid faciant, præcipere videantur.* Quinct. (8) *Validiorque indies Tigellinus, & malas artes quibus pollebat, gratiores ratus, ſi principem ſocietate ſceleris obſtringeret.* Tac. 14. Ann.

For

For if Vices extinguish the Lamp of Virtue in a Prince, who ought like a Beacon to give Light to all, and shew them the securest Course to Sail in, he cannot avoid dashing against Rocks the Vessel of the Commonwealth; it being impossible for that Government to be well ordered, where the Prince has abandoned himself to Vice: *For*, says King *Alphonso*, *the Nature of Vice is such, that the more a Man uses it, the more he loves it.*

The People easily slight and contemn Laws, if they see him that is the very Soul of them not observe them. Thus, as the Moon's Eclipses prejudice the Earth, so the Prince's Faults are the Destruction of his Kingdom: For the Punishment due to them, God Almighty generally inflicts upon the Subjects too, and that deservedly; for that in following his Example, they make themselves Accessary to the same Crimes; as 'tis related in Scripture of the People of *Israel* under *Jeroboam* (9).

The bare Shadow of an ill Action, which obscured King *Roderigo*'s Fame, kept the Liberty of all *Spain* in Darkness for many Years; wherefore that barbarous Custom of the *Mexicans* is in some measure excusable; who at the Inauguration of a New King, obliged him to take an Oath he would Administer Justice, not oppress his Subjects; that he would be in War strenuous and valiant: In a word, that he would † take care the Sun continued his Course, and preserved his Splendor; that the Clouds should give Rain, and the Rivers Water, and that the Earth should produce its Fruit plentifully. For the Sun himself obeys a Holy Prince, as *Joshua* experienced for a Reward of his Virtue, and the Earth is more than ordinary Fertile out of Gratitude, in a manner to the Justice of Kings towards their People. This is what *Homer* would signify by these Verses:

(9) And the Lord shall give *Israel* up, because of the Sins of *Jeroboam*, who did sin, and made *Israel* to sin. 1 *Kings* 14. 16.
† Lop. Gamar.

The King, who takes Religion for his Guide;
Who does for's Subjects wholeſome Laws provide;
For him the willing Earth ſhews all its Stock,
Corn, Wine, and Fruit; for him the teeming Flock
Brings double Births; the Sea opens all its Cells:
Where Juſtice reigns, their Peace and Plenty dwells.

The goodneſs of a Year is not to be judged of ſo much by good Fruit, as the Juſtice of the Prince (10). And 'tis very much the Opinion of the Vulgar, that thoſe who Govern them, are the only Cauſe of their Happineſs or Miſery; nay, they often impute to the Prince, even Caſualities, as the *Roman* People did to *Tiberius* (11).

Let not a Prince perſwade himſelf that his Vices will be leſs cenſured, for ſuffering them to go unpuniſhed in others, or having them in common with the People, as 'tis related *Witiza* did: For though Subjects love Libertiniſm, they hate the Author of it; which was the reaſon it coſt him afterwards his Life, being by all Men hated for his ſcandalous way of living. What we uſually Cenſure in others as highly Baſe and Infamous, in our ſelves we ſcarce allow to be Infirmities of Nature. The greateſt Defect in our ſelves we eaſily connive at, but in a Looking-Glaſs can't ſuffer the leaſt Spot. Such a one is a Prince, in whoſe Perſon his Subjects have a view of themſelves, nor is any thing more unpleaſant to them, than to ſee him ſullied with Vice. *Nero* was not at all leſs infamous for having many Companions in his Debaucheries; however he thought thereby to avoid Scandal (12).

Nor ſhould Princes imagine themſelves ſecure from a ſelf-conſciouſneſs of their good Actions; for when-

(10) *Annum bonum non tam de bonis fructibus, quam de juſte regnantibus exiſtimandum.* Boetius. (11) *Qui mos vulgo fortuita ad culpam trahentes.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Ratuſque dedecus emoliri, ſi plures fœdaſſet.* Tac. 14. Ann.

ever

ever the People can't inform themſelves of their Actions, they begin nicely to examine them, and always put the worſt Interpretation upon them; wherefore 'tis not enough for them to do well, but neceſſary, alſo, that the means they uſe have no appearance of Evil. And how will that Man have any thing ſecret, who can't be without his own Grandeur, and a Retinue of Courtiers, nor do any thing alone; whoſe Liberty draws with it ſo many Fetters and Golden Chains, whoſe noiſe every one hears? This was ſignified in the Perſon of the High-Prieſt, by thoſe little Bells that hung round the bottom of his Garment, leaſt he ſhould forget that his Steps were expoſed to all Mens Ears (13). All the Guards both within and without a Prince's Palace, all the Courtiers that attend him in his Chamber or Cloſet, are ſo many Spies of his Words and Actions; nay, and very Thoughts, attentively obſerving all his Geſtures, and the Motions of his Countenance, that diſcoverer of the Heart. Thus, according to the *Pſalmiſt*'s Expreſſion, *Their Eyes look unto his Hands* (14). But if they obſerve any failing in a Prince, though they pretend to conceal it, yet they love to diſcover it, either to get the Reputation of Perſons diſcreet, and well acquainted with the Government, or that of Zealots. Here they look on one another, and no one daring to open his Mouth, they ſpeak moſt by their Silence. The Secret boils and bubbles within them, agitated by the fervent deſire they have of revealing it, till at laſt it overflows (15). Tongues run to Ears. This Man diſcloſes it to that, having firſt obliged him by Oath to Secrecy; that in the ſame manner to another; ſo that while no body knows, 'tis known to all. Thus, as 'twere in a moment Calumny paſſes from the Cloſet

(13) And he compaſſed him with Pomegranates, and with golden Bells round about, that there might be a ſound, and a noiſe made, that might be heard in the Temple. *Eccl.* 45. 9. (14) Pſal. 122. 2. (15) His word was in mine heart as a burning fire ſhut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not ſtay, *Jer.* 20. 9.

to the Offices, thence to the Streets and Publick Places. But what wonder is it, if this happens among Domeſticks, when Princes are not aſſured, even, of their own faithfulneſs, however deſirous they are to conceal their Vices and Tyrannies; for their own Conſcience accuſes them; as it happened to *Tiberius*, who could not forbear diſcloſing to the Senate the Miſeries which he ſuffered from his Crimes (16). However, Princes ought not to be diſcouraged, if by their Induſtry and Diligence they ſeem not to ſatisfy every one; for that is a thing impoſſible, nor will ever Paſſion, Envy, and the ſo different Judgment of the Mob concur to commend him, much leſs can this our frail Nature in all things act without Fault and Error. Is any one more careful and ſollicitous in giving Light to this World, any more perfect than that Eye of it, that Prince of Light, the Sun, who gives Being, Colour, and Beauty to all things? Yet notwithſtanding the Splendor of his Rays, Curioſity diſcovers therein I know not what Spots and Obſcurities. This care of the Prince to regulate his own Life and Actions, ought to be extended to thoſe alſo of his Miniſters, the Repreſentatives of him, in as much as both God and Men hold him to be no leſs obliged to do the one than the other. 'Tis not the Moon's defect, what it ſuffers in an Eclipſe, but that of the Earth, which interpoſes its Shadow betwixt it and the Sun; nevertheleſs every one imputes it to the Moon; and this Shadow only is ſufficient to darken its Rays, and create ſo much prejudice to things here below. Prince's Vices we only attribute to his depraved Will; but to let Crimes in his Miniſters go unpuniſhed, is eſteemed baſeneſs of Mind. The vehemence of the Paſſions and Affections is ſome excuſe for our particular faults, but to indulge them in others, is wholly inexcuſable. A Vicious Prince may have Virtuous Miniſters; but if he begin to connive with them, both he and they

(16) *Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

will

will be bad. Hence it sometimes happens, that an ill Prince's Government may be good, provided he take care others follow not his Example: For that Rigour suffers not any Action to be mimick'd out of Flattery, nor lets that natural Inclination of the Will prevail, by which every one loves to resemble Princes by imitating their Actions. Grant such a Prince bad for himself, he will be good for the State. To give absolute Liberty to Ministers, is wholly to abandon the Reins of Government. Wicked Princes are as difficult to be cured as tainted Lungs; in that Remedies can't be applied to them. For these consist in hearing and seeing, both which they are equally averse to; nay, love not that others should hear or see; at least, their Domesticks and Ministers, who rather applaud Princes Vices, don't suffer it; but as the Ancients were used to make a great noise with Brass and Cymbals, while the Moon was in Eclipse (17); so they make it their business with Musick, and other Divertisements, to amuze the Prince's Mind, chiefly to keep his Ears continually employed, least the Peoples Clamours, or the Voice of Truth, which discovers Cheats, should reach them: And lastly, that the Prince being plunged in the same Vices with themselves, there may be none to Reprove and Correct them.

(17) *Igitur æris sono, tubarum, cornuumque concentu strepere, prout splendidior, obscuriorve lætari aut mœrere.* Tac. 6. Ann.

EMBLEM XIV.

THERE's ſcarce any one Inſtrument can by its ſelf make a Work of Art entirely perfect. What the Hammer can't, the File finiſhes. Yea, faults of the Loom the Shears (the Body of the preſent Emblem) correct, and give an additional neatneſs and beauty to Cloath. The Cenſure of others rectifies our Manners; they would be full of Knots, did not the Tongue clip them off. Thoſe whom the Law its ſelf can't Curb or Reform, oftentimes fear of Blame only reſtrain, that being the Spur of Virtue, and Bridle to keep it in the right way. Reproofs upon the obedient Ears of a prudent Prince, are (as *Solomon* ſays) *like Ear-rings of Gold and glittering Pearls* (1), wonderfully Ornamental and great

(1) Prov. 25. 12.

Accom-

Accompliſhments to him. There's no more mortal Enemy to Vice than Cenſure, it has far more Efficacy than Exhortation and Inſtruction; for Exhortation propoſes at a diſtance future Fame and Glory; Cenſure immediately accuſes what is Baſe and Diſhonourable, and inflicts preſent Puniſhment, by divulging the Infamy. That incites us to do well; this not to do ill, and the Mind more eaſily abſtains from what is Ignominious, than it enterprizes a thing Difficult and Honourable. In effect, 'tis with reaſon Honour is reputed to conſiſt in the Opinion of others, that we may dread that Opinion, and ſeeing our Actions depend upon each Man's Judgment, make it our buſineſs to ſatisfy all. Thus, although Murmur be bad in its ſelf, 'tis however good for the State; in that there's nothing has more Power and Influence over Magiſtrates and Princes. What would not Power dare, did not Blame reſiſt it? What Crimes would not that fall into, were there no ſuch thing as this? There's no better Counſellors in the World than Murmurs, for they proceed from experience of Evils. Could Princes hear them, undoubtedly things would ſucceed better. Satyrs and Libels I dare not altogether approve, for they generally either exceed the bounds of Truth, or give riſe to Scandals, Tumults, and Seditions; however poſſibly ſome allowance ought to be made therein, in conſideration of the good Effects they have. Obtrectation is a ſign of Liberty in a Commonwealth, for in that which Tyranny oppreſſes, 'tis by no means tolerated. 'Tis a happy time when you have liberty to think what you pleaſe, and ſpeak what you think (2). 'Twould be unjuſt in him that governs to deſire to put a Door upon his Subjects Lips, and forbid them to complain under the Yoke of their Slavery. Let them Murmur, let them Revile, while they let us Reign, ſaid Pope *Sixtus* V. to thoſe who told him how ill *Rome* ſpoke of him. Indeed, not

(1) *Rara temporum fœlicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* Tac. 1, Hiſt.

to be concerned or moved at all by Detraction, were to have caſt off all Sentiments of Honour; than which nothing is worſe in a Prince, for he then makes a Pleaſure of Infamy; he ought therefore ſo to reſent them, as thence to learn ſomething, not with a deſign of Revenge. How will one be able to put up greater things, who can't connive at ſuch inconſiderable Trifles (3)? 'Twas no leſs Virtue in the Great Captain † to ſuffer the Complaints and Clamours of his Army at the River *Garigliano*, than undauntedly to withſtand ſo eminent a Danger. 'Tis impoſſible to repreſs this Licenſe and Liberty of the People. Thoſe Princes are miſtaken, who think by their preſent Power to extinguiſh the Memory of the following Age, or imagine their Majeſty is able to gild bad Actions (4). Not all *Nero*'s Liberality, nor feigned Piety could waſh away his Infamy, for having ſet the City on Fire (5). Flattery, 'tis true, can take care that Slanders come not to the Prince's Ears, but can't help but there will be Slanderers. A Prince, who forbids his Actions to be ſpoke of, renders them ſuſpected; and as the Commonalty are apt to preſume the worſt, they are publiſhed for bad. Thoſe things are leaſt aggravated, which are not much valued. *Vitellius* forbad any one to mention his bad Actions; hence many, who, if they had been at liberty, would have ſaid otherwiſe, meerly becauſe of the Prohibition, ſpoke more to his diſadvantage (6). A Prince ought to paſs over Commendations and Invectives, ſo as not to be tickled with them, nor by theſe dejected. If Praiſes pleaſe him, and he give ear to them, every one will try to make himſelf Maſter of

(3) *Magnarum rerum curas non diſſimulaturos, qui animum etiam leviſſimis adverterent.* Tac. 13. Ann. † *Gonſalvo* of *Cordova.* (4) *Quo magis ſocordiam eorum irridere libet, qui præſenti potentiâ, credunt extingui poſſe etiam ſequentis ævi memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *Non ope humana, non largitionibus, aut Deûm placamentis decedebat infamia, quin juſſum incendium crederetur.* Tac. 13. Ann. (6) *Prohibiti per civitatem ſermones, eoque plures, ac ſi liceret, vera narraturi, quia vetabantur, atrociora vulgaverunt.* Tac. [illegible]

his

his Mind by Flattery; if Murmurers be a disturbance to him, he will decline difficult and glorious Enterprises, and become sluggish in his Government. To be vainly puft up at ones Praises, is a sign of a slender Judgment; to be offended at every thing, is for private Men. To connive at many things, is the part of Princes; to pardon nothing, that of Tyrants. This, those Great Emperors, *Theodosius*, *Arcadius*, and *Honorius*, very well knew when they commanded *Ruffinus*, their Captain of the Guards, not presently to punish the Peoples Clamours against them; for, said they, if they proceed from Inconstancy, they are to be despised; if from Madness or Folly, to be pitied; if from Malice, and a design to injure us, to be pardoned (7). Once, while the Emperor *Charles* the V. was at *Barcelona*, an Accusation was brought him in Writing against some, who had traduced his Actions, in order to consult with him about the Sentence to be passed upon them; but he inraged at the Person who presented it, threw the Paper immediately into the Fire, by which he then accidentally stood and burnt it. It belongs, I know, to a Prince to inform himself of all things, but nicely to examine each Word, is unworthy a generous Breast (8). In the *Roman* Republick, Actions only were punished, not Words (9). There's a wide distance between inconsiderately speaking and maliciously acting (10). The Crown would be too Thorny, did the least thing prick it thus. That Injury, which the Person against whom it was designed, don't look upon as such, is very little, if at all offensive. 'Tis too much easiness in the Prince, and a sign he has a mean Opinion of himself, to be moved at every trifling Report; and 'tis an ill Conscience that incites Men to punish Detracters; a Mind pure and undefiled despises things of that Nature.

(7) *Quoniam si id ex levitate processerit contemnendum est; si ex insania, miseratione dignissimum, si ab injuria, remittendum.* L. unica C. si quis imperat. Maledic. (8) *Omnia scire non omnia exequi.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (9) *Facta arguebantur, dicta impunè erant.* Tac. 1. Ann. (10) *Vana à scelestis, dicta à maleficiis differunt.* Tac. 3. Ann.

If

If the Aſperſion be true, the Prince's Amendment muſt wipe it off; if falſe, it will of its ſelf diſappear. For Contempt makes ſuch things wear off; Reſentment is a ſeeming acknowledgment of them (11). The *Roman* Senate commanded *Cremutius*'s Annals to be burnt; which made the People more eager and deſirous to read them. 'Twas the ſame with the Scurrilous Pamphlets of *Vejentus*, which were eagerly ſearch'd for, and frequently read, while not to be had without danger, but by being licenſed, ſoon forgot (12). Curioſity ſubmits to no Judges, fears no Puniſhment. What is moſt forbid, it chiefly engages. The very Prohibition inhances the Value of Satyrical Pieces; and when Men of Wit are puniſhed, their Authority increaſes (13). Nor have thoſe Kings, who have uſed ſuch Rigour, procured themſelves any thing but Diſgrace, but to the Author's Honour and Eſteem (14). Now, as 'tis much for a Prince's advantage to know what Ill others ſpeak of him, ſo it is not a little prejudicial to be too ready to hear Defamers: For as we eaſily believe what is accuſed in others to be true; 'tis very obvious for the Prince, either to be deceived, make ſome unjuſt Reſolution, or err in giving Judgment. This is a thing very dangerous, eſpecially in Courts, where Envy, and the gaping after Preferment, and the Favour of Princes, are Whet-ſtones to Defamation; and Courtiers are uſually like thoſe Locuſts in the Revelations, having Mens Faces, but Lions **Teeth**, with which they gnaw and feed on Honour as Ears of Corn (15). The Holy Spirit compares their Tongues to a ſharp Sword (16); as alſo to Arrows that privily ſtrike the Innocent (17). *David* deſtroyed them as Enemies (18). No Court,

(11) *Namque ſpreta exoleſcunt, ſi iraſcare agnita videntur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Conquiſitos lectitatoſque donec cum periculo parabantur, mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Punitis ingeniis gliſcit Authoritas.* Tac. 4. Ann. (14) *Neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eadem ſævitia uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi, atque illis gloriam peperere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (15) Rev. 9. 5. (16) Pſal. 56. 5. (17) Pſal. 10. 2. (18) Pſal. 100. 6.

where

where they are tolerated, can be at reſt; and their Whiſpers will give the Prince no leſs trouble than Publick Affairs. The Remedy is, not to hear them, ſetting two Porters at the Ears, Reaſon and Judgment, that they be not opened without conſiderable occaſion. A Guard is no leſs neceſſary at the Ears, than the Palace-Gates; and yet Princes are mighty ſollicitous about theſe, take little or no care about them. He that gives ear too eaſily to Detracters, makes them audacious. No one traduces others, but before one who loves to hear it. It would do well alſo to bring theſe Bablers, and the Perſon accuſed, face to face, telling him what they ſay, that for the future they may be aſhamed to be the Authors of Diſcord. This, if I miſtake not, is meant by the Holy Spirit in theſe Words, *Hedge thy Ears about with Thorns* (19): That he that ſhould put his Mouth to them, to tell malicious Stories, might there find his Puniſhment. The Prince has reaſon to be jealous of one, who dares not publickly ſpeak what he is not afraid to whiſper (20); and although this care may conceal abundance of Truths from the Prince, which, indeed, 'tis for his advantage, there being many Domeſtick things, 'twere better for him to be ignorant of than to know, and the beſt way to baniſh all Defamation in general; yet, when Accuſations proceed not from Malice, but a kind of Zeal to ſerve the Prince, 'tis by all means requiſite to hear, and well examine them, looking on them as Informations abſolutely neceſſary, not only for good Government, but his own Security alſo. Hence the Emperor *Conſtantine*, in a Law for that purpoſe, aſſigns a Reward to thoſe who would accuſe his Miniſters and Domeſticks of any real Crime (21).

(19) Eccl. 27. 23. Lat. Verſ. (20) *Et hanc velim generalem tibi conſtituas regulam, ut omnem qui palam veretur dicere, ſuſpectum habeas.* S. Bern. l. 4. de Conſ. ad Eug. c. 6. (21) *Si quis eſt cujuſcunque loci ordinis, dignitatis, qui ſe in quemcunque Judicum, Comitium, Amicorum, & Palatinorum meorum aliquid veraciter & manifeſte probare poſſe confidit, quod non integre, atque juſte geſſiſſe videatur, intrepidus, atque ſecurus audiat, interpellet me, ipſe audiam omnia, ipſe cognoſcam, & ſi fuerit comprobatum, ipſe me vindicabo.* L. 4. C. de Accus.

This

This is absolutely necessary, that the Prince may know all that passes in his Palace, at his Council-Board, and in the Courts of Judicature, where Fear stops the Mouth, and the Favours of the Prince conferred by his Ministers make the Persons gratified dumb, and not dare to discover their Faults, as if, forsooth, this were to acknowledge the good Office, and to shew their Gratitude, which is rather to be esteemed Disloyalty and Treason: For that Obligation they lie under to undeceive their Prince, and if they observe his Ministers to be faulty to inform him, is a natural Obligation of Fidelity, and more binding than any other. 'Tis an infinite prejudice for a Prince to distribute his Favours by the Hands of his Favourites; for these buy, as it were, others at the price of them, who are assisting to the neglect of their Duty, at least approve and defend it; and thus deluding the Prince, are the reason he continues his Affection to them. The Ancient Republicks very sensible how conducive Satyrs were to restrain Vice by the fear of Infamy, allowed them upon Publick Theatres; but these from a general Censure of Mens Morals insensibly degenerated into particular Reflections, not without considerable Injury to the Honour of some; hence proceeded Factions, and from them popular Insurrections: For as the Holy Spirit says, a backbiting Tongue disturbs the Peace, and is the Ruin of whole Families and Cities (22). So, least the Correction of Manners should depend on the Malice of the Tongue or Pen, there were instituted Censors, who by Publick Authority took cognizance of every one's Behaviour, and corrected their Vices. That Office was in those times of great use, and continued long in Vogue, because its Jurisdiction was upheld by Modesty; however in ours 'tis impossible to be executed: For Pride and Libertinism would presently make all the Opposition to it imaginable, as they now resist the Magistracy, however armed

(22) Curse the whisperer, and double tongued; for such have destroyed many that were at Peace, *Eccles.* 28. 13.

with

with the beſt Laws in the World and Publick Authority, and conſequently Cenſors would be ridiculous, not without great danger to the State; there being nothing more hurtful, nothing that makes Vice more arrogant and inſulting, than for ſuch Remedies to be applied to it, as Delinquents turn into Contempt and Ridicule. But as the Office of Cenſor was introduced for the Reformation of Manners, ſo was it alſo to Regiſter the Goods and Eſtates of every Citizen, and to take the number of them; and although that Cuſtom prevailed a long time, both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, with great Advantage to the Commonwealth, yet at this day 'twould be very odious and ſubject to vaſt Inconveniencies; for to know ſo accurately the Number and Effects of Subjects, is of no uſe, but to burthen them with more Taxes and Impoſitions. That numbring of the People of *Iſrael* under King *David*, God puniſhed as a moſt heinous Crime (23): For what is ſo hard and inhuman, as by publiſhing and proclaiming every ones Eſtate at once, to diſcover the advantages of Poverty, and expoſe Riches to Envy, Avarice, and Rapine. But if in thoſe States, the Office of Cenſor, could heretofore be executed without theſe Inconveniencies; 'twas becauſe its being newly inſtituted made it generally received and approved, or elſe becauſe People were then leſs proud and aſſuming, leſs Rebels to Reaſon, than in theſe our Times (24).

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(23) 2 Sam. 24. 10. (24) *Quid enim tam durum, tamque inhumanum eſt quam publicatione pompâque rerum familiarium, & paupertatis detegi utilitatem, & invidiæ exponere divitias.* L. 2. C. quan. & quib. quam. pars.

EMBLEM XV.

HOW I wiſh I could read on all Princes Breaſts, the Symbol of the preſent Emblem, and that as Balls of Fire flying in the Air imitate the Splendor of the Stars, and ſhine immediately from their being thrown out of the Hand, till they turn to Aſhes; ſo in them alſo (for the Holy Spirit compares them to a bright Fire (1)) would continually burn the deſire of Fame (2); nor ſhould they much care, for that Flame's wanting Matter to feed on, or that what burns moſt fiercely, is withal ſooneſt conſumed. For though length of Life be the common deſire of Man and Beaſt, yet have theſe no other end than meer living, but Man of living uprightly. 'Tis no happineſs to live but

(1) Eccleſ. 50. 9. (2) *Fax mentis honeſtæ gloria.*

to

to know how to live, nor does he live moſt, who lives longeſt, but who lives beſt; for Life is not meaſured by time, but the uſe that's made on't. He, whoſe Life like a Star in the midſt of a Cloud, or like the Full Moon, ſhines upon others with Rays of Bounty and Munificence in its Seaſon, does undoubtedly live long (3): As on the contrary, he who lives only to himſelf, though he lives to a great Age, lives but little. The Benefits and Improvements which flow from a Prince upon the State, number the Days of his Life (4), thoſe who live without them, Oblivion deducts from the Sum (5). *Titus Veſpaſian*, the Emperor, calling to mind once at Supper, that he had done nothing for any one that Day, pronounced that remarkable and juſtly admired Sentence, *Friend, I have loſt a Day.* And 'tis reported of *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, that he was wont to ſay, *That he deſerves not to be a King, who does not each day beſtow ſome Favour or Benefit upon the State.* No Man's Life's ſo ſhort, but it affords time enough to execute ſome glorious Exploit. A brave Spirit in one Moment reſolves, and in few more executes its Reſolutions. What matter's it if he falls in the attempt, if the Memory he left behind raiſes him to Life Eternal. It only can be called Life which is bounded by Fame, not that which conſiſts in Body and Vital Warmth, which no ſooner begins, but begins to die too. Death is naturally equal to all, but is diſtinguiſhed by the Glory or Oblivion we leave to Poſterity. Who dying makes Renown a Subſtitute for Life, lives ſtill. Strange force of Virtue, which even againſt Nature, makes that which is of its ſelf fading and periſhable, Immortally glorious. *Tacitus* did not think *Agricola*'s Life ſhort, though he was ſnatch'd away in the prime of his Years: for his Glory prolong'd his Life (6). Let no

(3) He was as the Morning Star in the midſt of a Cloud, and as the Moon at the Full. *Eccleſ.* 50. 6. (4) Eccleſ. 41. 16. (5) The number of years is hidden to oppreſſors. *Job* 15. 20. (6) *Quanquam medio in ſpatio integræ ætatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longiſſimum ævum peregit.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

one

one deſpiſe or ſlight Poſthumous Fame, for in as much as the Mind covets it, 'tis an acknowledgement that one time or other 'tis to be enjoyed; but they are in the wrong, who think it ſufficient, if they leave it behind them in Statues, or in Poſterity; for in one 'tis fading, in t'other 'tis none of theirs. That only is their own which ſprings from Actions, which if not extraordinary Merit no Praiſe; for Fame is the Daughter of Admiration. To be Born, only to make One in the World, is for the Vulgar Rout; 'tis for Princes to appear perſpicuouſly eminent among others. Others ſtudy what they think their own Intereſt, but the utmoſt and only aim of Princes ſhould be Glory (7). Avarice, and deſire of Riches, fill their Breaſts; but a Prince ſhould be inflamed by an Ambition of Fame (8).

A heavenly Heat inſpires our Prince's Veins. Virg.

A generous Spirit knows no mean; 'twill be either *Cæſar*, or no body; either a ſhining Star, or a dark Cinder; nor will this, if honourably extinguiſhed, ſhine leſs glorioufly on Obelisks, than t'other. Nor, indeed, is that Soul truly great, which, like the beſt Gunpowder fired, does not immediately burſt the Body that includes it. The Breaſt is too narrow to contain a brisk and active Soul. *Garci Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, going to ingage the Enemy, trembled all over, yet in the Fight behaved himſelf bravely and couragiouſly. His Body dreaded that great Multitude of Enemies, into which his Courage prepared to carry it. Let it therefore be the whole Aim of a Prince to live glorioufly, that he may be a Light in this

(7) *Cæteris mortalibus, in eo ſtare conſilia, quid ſibi conducere putent, Principum diverſam eſſe ſortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.* Tac. 4. Ann. (8) *Argentum quidem, & pecunia eſt communis omnium poſſeſſio, at honeſtum, & ex eo laus, & gloria Deorum eſt aut eorum, qui à aliis proximi cenſentur.* Polybius.

World

World (9). All other things will come with eaſe, but Fame not without Aſſiduity and Application (10). But if in the beginning of his Reign he loſes his Reputation, he will very difficultly recover it; for what the People once conceive of him, they will never afterwards forget. He, who ſets too great a value upon Life, avoids Toils and Dangers, without which two, Honour can never be attained. This *Tacitus* obſerved in King *Marabodo*, who quitting his Kingdom, lazily and ſhamefully ſpent his Days in *Italy*, loſing much of his Reputation through a too fond deſire of Life (11). Let a Prince ſo ſtere his Courſe, be the Sea Calm or Tempeſtuous, as ſtill to keep his Eye upon that ſhining Beacon of Glory; ever and anon calling to mind (that he may admit, or think of nothing unworthy himſelf) that Hiſtory will publiſh his Fame, his Exploits and Glorious Atchievements to all Ages, and to all Nations. Princes have no other Superior than God, and Fame; they alone by the fear of Puniſhment and Infamy oblige them to Act honourably; for which reaſon they often fear Hiſtorians more than their Enemies, and are more aw'd by the Pen than the Sword. King *Balthaſar*, though he ſaw only the Hand and Pen, as yet not knowing what they would write, was ſo diſorder'd, *That he quaked all over, and the Joints of his Back were looſened* (12). But if they neither regard God nor Glory, nothing Glorious or Honourable can be expected. For who e're ſlights Honour, deſpiſes Virtue. A generous deſire of Glory avoids the blemiſh of Vice or Injuſtice. Nor is there a more Savage Brute than that Prince, who is neither moved by remorſe of Conſcience, or deſire of Glory. Nor is there, nevertheleſs, no danger in Glory; for its brightneſs often dazles Princes, and leads them headlong into

(9) Let your Light ſo ſhine before Men, that they may ſee your good Works, *Matth.* 5. 12. (10) *Cætera Principibus ſtatim adeſſe: unum inſatiabiliter parandum, proſperam ſui memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (11) *Conſenuitque, multum immutatâ claritate, ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) Dan. 5. 6.

Raſhneſs and Temerity. That which ſeems Honourable and Glorious to them, is Vanity or Folly, ſometimes Pride or Envy, and oftentimes Ambition and mere Tyranny. They propoſe great matters, egg'd on by the Flatteries of their Miniſters, who ſet before them many things under the appearance of Glory, concealing in the mean time the unjuſt and inconvenient Means by which they are to be attained; by which being ſeduced, they oftentimes find themſelves deluded and ruined.

That Glory is ſafe which ſprings from a generous Spirit, and keeps within the Bounds of Reaſon and Poſſibility. Since therefore Honour and Infamy are the ſtrongeſt Excitements to good Actions, and that both are by Hiſtory delivered down to Poſterity; 'twould be convenient by Rewards propoſed to excite Hiſtorians to write, and to countenance Typography, the true Treaſury of Glory, where the Rewards of great Actions are depoſited to future Ages.

E. M.

EMBLEM XVI.

'TIS an old saying, *Purple is to be judged by Purple*; by which the Ancients signified, that things were then best distinguished, when one was compared with the other, especially if they were such as could not easily be distinguish'd by themselves. Thus Merchants do, who compare Colour to Colour, that they may shew each other, and that a surer Judgment may be given of both. In the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there was a Cloak (a Present of some King from *Persia*) of such an excellent Grain, that the Robes of the *Roman* Ladies, nay, even of the Emperor *Aurelian* himself, compared with it, look'd as faint as Ashes. If your Royal Highness, when raised to the Crown, would examine, and know the true worth of the Royal Purple, expose it not to the false Light of Flatterers and fawning

Knaves, for that will never ſhew you its true Colour: Nor rely too much upon ſelf-love, for that is like an Eye, that ſees all things but its ſelf. 'Twill be therefore neceſſary, that as Eyes are known by their own Species, like Forms repreſented in a Glaſs; ſo your Highneſs would compare the Luſtre of your Diadem to that of your Glorious Predeceſſors, ſeriouſly reflecting if any Virtues ſhine more bright in theirs than yours, by viewing your ſelf in them as in a Glaſs (1). Let your Highneſs, I ſay, compare your own Actions to thoſe of your Anceſtors, and you will eaſily ſee the difference between yours and theirs, that you may either give a true Colour to their Actions, or rejoyce in the Worth of your own, if in any thing you happen to have out-done your Predeceſſors. Let your Royal Highneſs therefore pleaſe to conſider, whether you Equal your Father in Courage, your Grandfather in Piety; *Philip* the Second, in Prudence; *Charles* the Fifth, in Greatneſs of Spirit; *Philip* the Firſt, in Affability; *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in Policy; in Liberality, that *Alphonſo*, who was Nick-named from his broken Hands; in Juſtice, King *Alphonſo* the Eleventh; and laſtly, King *Ferdinand* the Holy, in Religion: And that moreover, your Highneſs would be ſtir'd up by a generous Emulation, to a glorious Deſire of imitating theſe Great Men. *Quintus Maximus* and *Publius Scipio*, were uſed to ſay, that when e're they beheld the Images of their Anceſtors, their Souls were fired and excited on to Virtue: Not that they were moved by the meer Wax or Stone, but that comparing their own Actions to thoſe of others, they could not reſt till they equall'd them in Glory and Renown. Elogies inſcribed on Tombs, ſpeak not to the Dead, but to the Living: They are certain Summaries, which for Memory's ſake, the Virtue of the Predeceſſor leaves to the Succeſſor. *Mattathias* ſaid, That by calling to mind the Actions

(1) *Tanquam in ſpeculo ornare, & comparare vitam tuam ad alienas virtutes.* Plutarch.

of

of their Ancestors, his Sons should acquire present Glory and eternal Renown (2). For which Cause also, the High Priests, who were Princes of the People, wore upon their Breasts the Virtues of the Twelve Patriarchs, their Predecessors, engraven upon as many Stones (3). In effect, it becomes a Prince to vie with his Ancestors in Glory, not with his Inferiors, for 'tis no praise to excel them, and to be out-done by them, the greatest Scandal. The Emperor *Tiberius* observed as Law, all the Sayings and Exploits of *Augustus* (4). Moreover, let your Highness compare the Purple you wear at present, to that you wore formerly; for we are oftentimes desirous to forget what we have been, for fear of upbraiding our selves with what we are. Let your Highness consider, whether you are grown better or worse, for we find it often happens, that at the beginning of their Reigns, Princes minds are gloriously bent upon the Execution of their Office, in which afterwards they grow more remiss. Almost all begin their Reigns with Great and Glorious Spirits; but at last by degrees, either they sink under the Weight of Affairs, or grow Effeminate by Luxury and Ease, with which they easily suffer themselves to be taken, forgetting they are obliged to keep and preserve their once gotten Glory. This very thing *Tacitus* remarks in the Emperor *Tiberius*, that at last, after a long Experience in Affairs, he was altered and ruined by the mere force of Government (5). A long Reign creates Pride, and Pride the hatred of the People; as the same Author observes in King *Vannius* (6). Many begin

(2) Call to remembrance what Acts our Fathers did in their time, so shall ye receive great Honour, and an everlasting Name, 1 *Macc.* 2. 52. (3) And in the four Rows of Stones, was the Glory of the Fathers graven, *Wisd.* 8. 24. (4) *Qui omnia facta dictaque ejus vice legis observem.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *An cum Tiberius post tantam rerum experientiam vi dominationis convulsus, & mutatus sit.* Tac. 6. Ann. (6) *Prima Imperii ætate clarus acceptusque popularibus; mox diuturnitatem, in superbiam mutans, & odio accolarum simul domesticis discordiis circumventis.* Tac. 12. Ann.

their Reigns with extraordinary Modesty and Justice, but few continue so; because their Ministers are Flatterers, by whom they are taught to Act boldly and unjustly. As it happened to *Vespasian*, who in the beginning of his Reign was not so much bent upon Injustice, until by the Indulgence of Fortune and Advice of Evil Counsellors, he learnt it (7).

Let your Highness compare not only your own Virtues and Actions, but those of your Ancestors with one another, by confronting the Purple of some stain'd with Vices, to that of others glossy and shining with great and noble Actions: For Examples never move us more than when they are confronted one with another. Let your Highness compare the Royal Robe of King † *Hermenigildus*, with that of *Peter* the Second, King of *Arragon*; one glittering with Stars, and died with Blood, which he had gloriously spilt in the War against *Leuvigildus*, his Father, who was infected with the *Arrian* Heresy; the other trampled under the Feet of Horses in a Battle at *Girone*, when he brought Succours to the *Albigenses* in *France*.

Let your Highness cast your Eyes back upon past Ages, and you will find *Spain* ruined by the licentious Lives of the Kings, *Witiza* and *Roderick*, but recovered again by the Piety and Courage of *Pelagius*. You'll see *Peter* deposed, and killed for his Cruelty; and his Brother, *Henry* the Second, advanced to the Crown for his singular Mildness. You'll see the Glorious Infant, *Ferdinand*, blessed by Heaven with many Kingdoms, for that he would not accept of that of his Grandson, King *John* the Second, although there were those who freely offered it him: On t'other side, the Infant *Sancho* accused by his own Father of Disobedience and Ingratude, before Pope *Martin* the Fourth, for that he would have usurped the Throne in his life-time. This

(7) *Ipso Vespasiano, inter initia Imperii ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obstinato; donec, indulgentia fortunæ, & pravis Magistris, didicit, aususque est.* Tac. 2. Hist. † Marian. Hist. Hisp.

Comparison

Compariſon your Highneſs may follow as a ſure Guide in the Management of your Affairs; for, though by Diſcourſe and Converſation you may know the Luſtre and Brightneſs of Heroick Exploits, as alſo the Baſeneſs and Infamy of Ill Actions; yet all theſe move us not ſo much, conſidered in themſelves, as in thoſe Perſons, whom they have made Glorious in the World, or Deſpicable.

EMBLEM XVII.

A Tree bedeck'd with Trophies, is ſtill a Trunk as afore; thoſe which were an Honour to others, are but a burthen to it. So truly, the glorious Exploits of Anceſtors are but a Shame and Diſgrace to the Succeſſor, unleſs he imitates the ſame. Nor does he inhe-

rit their Glory, but their Actions only, by an Imitation of which he will obtain the other. Juſt as light is reflected from a Diamond, becauſe it finds ſubſtance, but quickly pierces Glaſs which is thin and tranſparent; ſo if the Succeſſor be Stout and Brave, the Glory of his Predeceſſors adds yet a greater Luſtre and Brightneſs to him; but if like thin and paultry Glaſs, he can't withſtand the Luſtre, it ſerves only to diſcover his vile and abject Soul. The Actions of Anceſtors, which are only Examples to others, are Laws to the Succeſſor, for the whole Eſteem and Prerogative of Nobility is grounded upon this Suppoſition, that the Deſcendants will imitate the Actions of their Forefathers. He, who vainly boaſts of theſe without imitating them, only ſhews the difference between himſelf and them. No one is to be blamed for not equalizing the Actions of them to whom he bears no relation. For this Reaſon, the Nobility of *Rome* were wont to place before their Doors the Statues of the Illuſtrious Men of their Families, that they might ſhew to Poſterity what Obligation they lie under. *Bodiſlaus* the Fourth, King of *Poland*, always wore his Father's Picture in Gold about his Neck; and whenever any Affair of great conſequence was to be determined, he put it to his Mouth, and kiſſing on't, with Veneration us'd to ſay, *God grant I may never do any thing unworthy your Royal Name.* How many ſuch Medals of your Heroick Anceſtors might your Highneſs find? Which would never permit you to act any thing beneath their Royal Blood; nay, would rather encourage and excite you to out-do them in glorious Exploits? Now, if this Emulation of Anceſtors enflame the Minds of the Nobility, they certainly deſerve the principal Employments in the State. For as 'tis likely thoſe ſhould be beſt who proceed from the beſt (1); as alſo Preſumption and Experience teach, for Eagles hatch Eagles, and Lions beget Lions. And oft-times ſelf-worth and fear of Infamy ſtirs up noble

(1) *Par eſt meliores eſſe eos qui ex melioribus.* Ariſt.

Thoughts

Thoughts in the mind. Yet, I grant that this Rule holds not always good, either becauſe Nature can't do what ſhe would (2), or becauſe of ill Education and Effeminacy; or becauſe Mens Souls themſelves are not equally noble and generous, but act differently according to the Affection of the Body, in which they are as 'twere drowned. There are ſome too, who ſeem only to inherit the Trophies and Glory of their Anceſtors, without their Virtues, and are in all things wholly different from them. Of this we have an Example in the Eagles themſelves, who altho' they commonly breed Eagles; yet there are ſome, who think that Oſtriches are a certain Species of them, tho' wholly degenerate, having neither the generoſity, ſtrength, nor ſwiftneſs of an Eagle; this fine Bird being transformed into a loathſome dull Animal. 'Tis ſcarce credible how prejudicial 'tis to the Publick Good, without any diſcretion or regard to Merit, to elect only the Nobility into Publick Offices, as though the Experience and Virtue of Anceſtors ran in the Blood to Poſterity. Induſtry will languiſh, Virtue will grow ſluggiſh and lazy, if only grounded upon Nobility, which will look upon Rewards as its juſt due; nor will the hopes of obtaining, or the fear of loſing them, be a means to make them act honourably: Which very Argument *Tiberius* uſed to the Senate to perſwade them not to aſſiſt the Family of *M. Hortalus*, which tho' very Ancient, was fallen to Poverty (3). In time of Peace, indeed, Men of Great and Noble Families may be well preferred to Places of the greateſt Authority, in which the Splendor and Reputation of the Family is of great advantage. In Military Offices the caſe is alter'd, for theſe require activity and ſtrength both of Mind and Body: But if theſe are found in the Nobility, though not in altogether ſo

(2) *Nam ut ex homine hominem, ex belluis belluam, ſic ex bonis bonum generari putant; at hoc quidem natura ſæpè efficere vult, non tamen poteſt.* Ariſt. 1. Pol. c. 4. (3) *Langueſcet alinqui induſtria, intendetur ſocordia, ſi nullus ex ſe metus, aut ſpes, & ſecuri omnes aliena ſubſidia expectabant, ſibi ignavi, nobis graves.* Tac. 2. Ann.

great

great Perfection as in others, the Merits of their Anceſtors, or the common Eſteem and Reſpect of Men will eaſily compenſate for the reſt, yet can they by no means ſupply an intire defect. For this reaſon *Tacitus* deſervedly ridiculed the Election of *Vitellius*, when he was ſent to Command the Legions of *Lower Germany*; not conſidering his Incapacity for ſuch an Office, it ſeem'd enough that he was the Son of *Vitellius*, who had been for three times Conſul (4). *Tiberius* acted not ſo in the beginning of his Reign, he conferr'd Honours reſpecting both the Nobility of the Family, the Excellency of the Perſon in the Art of War; as alſo his worth in time of Peace, that it might appear he did not without Reaſon prefer one before another (5). I grant that the Eſteem and Authority of Nobility may do much in War; but 'tis not that, but Bravery and Induſtry that routs the Enemy. The *Germans* formerly choſe their Kings for their Nobility, but their Generals for their Valour (6). Then Arms flouriſh when Valour and Virtue are in eſteem, and in poſſeſſion of the greateſt Poſts in the Army; in which they may either acquire Nobility, or enlarge and illuſtrate that which they have already. The hope of this furniſht paſt Ages with brave Heroick Generals; but where this is wanting, Art Military is neglected and ſlighted; for nothing but the Honour of Preferment in the Army can recompence the Inconveniences and Perils of War. Nor is it true as ſome ſuppoſe, that the greateſt Reſpect and Obedience is paid to thoſe of the nobleſt Families; for if they are not qualified with theſe two great Qualities, Conduct and Valour, all the deference paid to their Blood will be only meer Ceremony, not real Reſpect. The Heart values and admires only ſuch a Virtue and Greatneſs of Soul, as is the Maker of its own Fortune.

(4) *Cenſoris Vitellii ac ter Conſulis filius, id ſatis videbatur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (5) *Mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militiæ, illuſtres domi artes, ſpectando, ut ſatis conſtaret, non alios potiores fuiſſe.* Tac. 4. Ann. (6) *Reges ex nobilitate, Duces ex virtute ſumunt.* Tac. de mor. Germ.

Columbus gave Laws to the Ocean, and *Herman Cortez* to the New World; theſe, though they did not ſpring from Illuſtrious Families, yet did they procure a Nobility for their Poſterity, equal to thoſe of the greateſt Rank. The moſt noted Rivers take their riſe and beginning from the ſmalleſt Rivolets, and a little after take their Name and Glory from the Channel. In War, where Courage and Bravery are moſt eſteem'd, 'twill be expedient to promote thoſe to the higheſt Honours who have merited it by noble Exploits, though they are perhaps but of mean Extraction; yet, in time of Peace, 'twill be very dangerous for a Prince to commit the Government to mean and worthleſs Perſons; 'twill immediately incenſe the Noble and Brave againſt him for ſlighting and miſtruſting their Integrity (7). Which then chiefly happens, when the Subject is not endowed with good Natural Parts, not when he is cried up and admired by all, the obſcurity of Birth being ſufficiently brightned by the excellent Endowments of Mind. We ſee many, who ſeem to be born of themſelves, as *Tiberius* uſed to ſay of *Curtius Rufus* (8). To ſuch as theſe *Claudian*'s Praiſe of a good choice of Miniſters is well adapted.

> *Mirit, not Birth, he does prefer* †;
> *Nor cares he whence, but what they are.*

But if the Nobility be corrupted by Eaſe and Luxury, 'twere adviſeable to reform it by Rewards and Exerciſe, rather than to inſtitute an entire new ſet. Silver and Gold are eaſily purified and clean'd, but to make Gold out of Silver, is a vaſt labour beyond the Art of Chymiſtry to perform. *Henry* the Fourth, was therefore very ill adviſed by ſome to ruin all the Grandees of his Kingdom, and to promote thoſe of mean Fortune.

(7) *Si Remp. gnaris, & non magni pretii hominibus committas, ſtatim & nobilium ac ſtrenuorum iram in te provocabis ob contemptam eorum fidem, & maximis in rebus damna patiens.* Dion. Caſſio. (8) *Videntur mihi ex ſe nati.* Tac. 11. Ann. † Claud.

Though

Though the Licentiouſneſs and Diſobedience of the Nobility may ſometimes require that it be a little humbled; for too much Greatneſs begets Pride, and an Averſion to Subjection and Obedience (9). The weakeſt always ſeek Juſtice and Equity, but the ſtronger trouble not themſelves with it (10); and the People are generally more quiet, when there are no Great Ones to protect them, and to foment their Innovations (11). For this reaſon, the Laws of *Caſtile* don't allow two Great and Noble Families to incorporate, that ſo the Eſtate might be more divided, and that it might not create Jealouſy and Envy among others (12). There are ways under the pretext of Honour and Favour to remedy exceſs of Riches, in giving opportunity of employing it to the Service of the Prince and People. But Prodigality and Luxury are now grown to that height, that there is no occaſion for ſuch means; for all the Nobility are ſo much ſtraitned by Debts, and neceſſary Expences, that they want means to execute ſuch Thoughts, or to attempt Innovation. While they would be great beyond what they can, they become even leſs than what they are. 'Tis certain, that the nobleſt and moſt renowned Families are ruined by a deſire of Grandure and Magnificence (13). But as too much Riches are dangerous, ſo alſo is extream Poverty. For when any of theſe Great Ones have ſquandred away their Eſtates, they preſently ſet up for Innovation (14).

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(9) *Et revocante Nobilitate, cui in pace durius ſervitium eſt.* Tac. 11. Ann. (10) *Nam Imbecilliores ſemper equum, & juſtum quærunt, potentioribus autem id nihil curæ.* Ariſt. Pol. 6. C. 2. (11) *Nihil auſuram plebem principibus amotis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (12) *Commodum eſt etiam, ut hæreditates non donatione, ſed jure agnationis tradantur, utque ad eundem una, non plures hæreditates perveniant.* Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 8. (13) *Dites olim familiæ nobilium, aut claritudine inſignes, ſtudio Magnificentiæ prolabebantur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) *Sed cum ex Primariis aliqui bona diſſiparunt, hi res novas moliuntur.* Ariſt. Pol. 6. c. 12.

EMBLEM XVIII.

VIRTUE has given Empire to many, Vice to few. In these the Scepter was a violent and dangerous Usurpation, in those a just Title and lasting Succession. Virtue by a certain occult and secret Force, does as 'twere compel Men to love and admire it. The Elements obey the Heavens for the Perfection and Excellency of them; so Men too think none worthy the Sovereign Power, but those of Sovereign Justice and Virtue. For which cause, *Cyrus* thought no one was fit to govern, but he who was better than those he governed (1). Subjects pay more Reverence to a Prince, in whom they discern more than ordinary En-

(1) *Non censebat convenire cuiquam Imperium qui non melior esset iis quibus imperaret.* Xenoph. lib. 8.

dowments

dowments of Mind; the greater they are, the greater is their Respect and Esteem, for all believe that to such a Prince, God is more propitious and ready to assist him in all things, and to direct his Government. 'Tis this alone made *Joshua*'s Name celebrated all the World over (2). All the Actions and Counsels of a good Prince the People receive with Joy, and through a certain zealous Confidence promise themselves Success from them; but if it fall out otherwise, they persuade themselves that for some supernatural and unknown Reasons 'tis convenient it should be so. For the same cause among some Nations, the High Priests were Kings (3), that the People receiving Holy Ceremonies and Divine Worship from them, might acknowledge in them a certain more sublime Nature, more allied and familiar to God himself, which as a Mediatrix they might make use of in their Prayers, and against which they durst not attempt any thing (4). The Crown upon *Aaron*'s Mitre attracted the Eyes and Desires of all (5).

Jacob worshipped *Joseph*'s Scepter, on the top of which was a Stork, the Emblem of Piety and Religion (6).

Let none imagine that the time is lost, which a Prince employs in the Exercise of Goodness and Virtue; nay, God does then chiefly dispose and direct the Events of things. *Ferdinand Antoline* was at his Devotions, while Count *Garcias Fernandez* fought the Moors at the River *Duero*, and an Angel in his likeness supplied his place in the Fight, by which he not only escaped the

(2) So the Lord was with *Joshua*, and his fame was noised throughout all the Country, *Josh.* 6. 27. (3) *Rex enim Dux erat in bello, & Judex, & in iis quæ ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, summam potestatem habebat.* Arist. Pol. 3. 13. (4) *Minusque insidiantur iis, qui Deos auxiliares habent.* Arist. Polit. (5) He set a Crown of Gold upon the Mitre, wherein was engraved Holiness, an ornament of Honour, a safety-work, the desires of the Eyes goodly and beautiful. *Eccl.* 45. 12. (6) And he worshipped leaning upon the top of his Staff. Vid. Lat. Vers. *Et adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus.* Heb. 11. 21.

discredit

diſcredit of not being at the Battel, but alſo gained the chiefeſt Praiſe of Honour of the Victory. Something like this is related of that Renowned General, Count *Tilly*, that true Chriſtian *Joſhua*, not leſs Holy and Religious, than Warlike and Brave, that while he was at Prayers, the Army was drawn up by another in his ſhape. The Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second, had more Standards and Trophies preſented to him in the time of Divine Service, than many of his Anceſtors had gained from the Enemy (7). The *Iſraelites* ſtood ſtill, and God wrought Wonders for them (8). That Crown, which like *Ariadne*'s ſhines with refulgent Stars of Virtue, ſhall laſt to Eternity (9). The Emperor *Septimus* told his Sons as he was dying, *That he left them a firm and laſting Empire if they were good; if wicked, but of ſhort continuance.* King *Ferdinand*, who from his great Virtues, was ſirnamed the Great, did by theſe wonderfully increaſe the Glory of his Kingdom, and eſtabliſht it to Poſterity. His Piety was ſo great, that when the Body of St. *Iſidore* was carried by *Sevil*, he and his Sons, barefoot, carried theſe Holy Relicks from the River *Durio*, quite to St. *John*'s Church in the City. For 'tis God by whom Kings Reign, and upon whom all their Power and Felicity depends; they could never err, if they would make him their only Object. The Rays of the Sun never forſake the Moon; ſhe, as if ſhe knew ſhe received all her Light from the Sun, looks on him continually, that ſhe may be enlightned by him; which Princes muſt ſo imitate, that they may always have their Eyes fixt upon that Eternal Light, which affords Light and Motion to the World, and from which Empires take their encreaſe and decreaſe, as is intimated in the preſent Emblem by the Scepter,

(7) Fear ye not, ſtand ſtill, and ſee the Salvation of the Lord, which he will ſhew you to day, *Exod.* 14. 13. (8) And the Lord God of *Iſrael* fought for *Iſrael*, *Joſh.* 10. 42. (9) And that turn not aſide from the Commandment, to the right, or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midſt of *Iſrael*, *Deut.* 17, 20.

on

on the top of which is the Moon looking towards the Sun, the true Emblem of God, as well becauſe no other thing comes nearer his Omnipotency; as alſo, becauſe that alone gives Light and Being to all.

Which 'cauſe it ſolely all Surveys,
Is properly call'd Sol. Boet.

For *there is no Power but from God* (10). Kings are crowned in his Eternal Mind before they are here on Earth. He, who gave the Orbs Cœleſtial firſt motion, gives it alſo to Empires and Republicks. He, who has appointed a King over Bees, has not left meerly to Chance or Humane Choice, theſe Second Cauſes of Princes, who are his Vice-Roys upon Earth, and as like him as may be (11), being repreſented in the Revelations by thoſe Seven Planets, which God held in his Hand (12); upon them he darts his Divine Rays, the Reflection of which gives them the utmoſt Power and Authority over their Subjects. Without that Splendor, all Power, how great ſoever, is in a manner dark; the Prince who ſlighting this Light, ſhall follow another, an appearance may be of ſome good, which his own convenience, not right reaſon offers, will ſoon ſee the Orb of his Power eclips'd and darken'd. What e'er avoids the Sun, muſt neceſſarily be in darkneſs. The Moon, although it finds its ſelf oft'times quite dark, does not therefore turn away from the Sun, but looks on't with ſo much the more eagerneſs, till at laſt 'tis again enlightned by it. Let a Prince hold his Scepter fixt and ſteady, having always a regard to Virtue, as well in Proſperity as Adverſity: For the ſame Divine Sun, which either for Puniſhment or Exerciſe of his Virtues, permitted his decreaſe, as a recompence of his Conſtancy will again promote and encreaſe his great-

(10) Rom. 13. 1. (11) *Principes quidem inſtar deorum eſſe.* Tac. 3. Ann. (12) And he had in his right hand ſeven Stars, *Revel.* 1. 16.

neſs.

neſs. Thus 'twas with the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the II. who was often reduced to that extremity of Fortune, that his Empire and Life too ſeem'd deſperate. Yet he was reſolved never wholly to deſpair, nor to turn his Eyes from that Eternal Sun, the Maker and Governor of all things, whoſe Divine Providence freed him from all Perils, and advanced him far above all his Enemies. *Moſes*'s Rod, which was the Emblem of a Scepter, did Wonders whilſt he held it in his Hand upright t'wards Heaven; but as ſoon as he caſt it upon the Ground, 'twas turn'd into a venomous Serpent, dreadful even to *Moſes* himſelf (13). Whilſt the Scepter, like *Jacob*'s Ladder, touches Heaven, God himſelf ſupports it, and Angels deſcend to its aſſiſtance (14). This the *Egyptians* knew, who on the top of their Scepters were uſed to engrave the Head of a Stork, a Religious Bird, and Pious t'wards its Parents; but on the bottom, the Foot of a Sea-Horſe, an impious and ungrateful Animal, which Plots to kill his Father, that he may the more freely enjoy his Mother. By which Hieroglyphick they meant nothing, but that Princes ought always to prefer Piety to Impiety. *Machiavel* would have his Prince to learn this Hieroglyphick, but in quite another Sence, for he would have Piety and Impiety placed at each end, that he might turn it as he pleaſed, and hold that upwards which tended moſt to his Preſervation and Advantage. For which reaſon, he thinks 'tis not neceſſary for a Prince to be Virtuous, 'tis enough if he pretends to be ſo; for to be really ſo, and to act according to the Dictates of Virtue, would, he ſays, be pernicious; but that 'tis moſt advantageous to be thought ſo; for by this means he will be ſo diſpoſed, as to know how to ſhift upon occaſion, and ſo to act in all things as advantage or opportunity ſhall require: And

(13) And he caſt it on the ground, and it became a Serpent, and *Moſes* fled from before it, *Exod.* 4. 3. (14) And he dreamed, and behold, a Ladder ſet upon the Earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven; and behold, the Angels of God aſcending and deſcending on it. *Gen.* 28. 12.

this, he says, is principally necessary for Princes newly come to the Crown, who ought to be quick and ready to spread their Sails to every breath of Fortune, and as necessity requires. Impious and foolish Counsel, that would insinuate that Virtues need not be real and genuine, but only counterfeit and imaginary, for how can the Shadow be as effective as the Substance? What Art or Pains can bring Chrystal to that perfection, as it shall equal the Diamond in lustre and brightness? Won't any one at first sight discover and laugh at the Cheat. A true Glory takes root and flourishes, that which is not, falls like Blossoms; nor can any thing be lasting that is counterfeit (15). There's no Art or Cunning so great, as to make a vicious Inclination appear truly good and virtuous. For if we so easily fail in real Virtues so agreeable to our Nature and Inclination, what shall we do in false and imaginary ones? How will the Subjects, when they discover the Cheat, be able to endure the Stench of this Sepulchre of abominable Vices, without any ornament of Goodness? How can they turn their Eyes from that inward Wound, when the Patch under which it lurk'd being drawn off, 'tis openly exposed to the sight of all (16)? Whence a Prince will be contemptible and ridiculous to his own People at home, and suspected by Foreigners abroad. He will be surely odious to both, for neither can live securely under him. Nothing renders Tyranny more grievous than when the Prince dissembles Virtue. For from thence oft-times greater Vices spring, for this Reason many were afraid of *Otho*, when he stood Candidate for the Empire (17). When a Prince is known to be wicked and vicious, 'tis easy to beware

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(15) *Vera gloria radices agit, atque etiam propagatur; ficta omnia celeriter tanquam flosculi decidunt, neque simulatum quidquam potest esse diuturnum.* Cic. lib. 2. de Off. cap. 32. (16) And all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags, *Isaiah* 64. 6. (17) *Otho interim, contra spem omnium, non deliciis, neque desidia torpescere, dilatæ voluptates, dissimulata luxuria, & cuncta ad decorem imperii composita, eoque plus formidinis afferebantur falsæ virtutes, & vitia reditura.* Tac. 1. Hist.

of

of him, but not so when he dissembles. Open Vice may be imputed to frailty of Nature; but pretended Virtue is only Cheat and Design; not accidental, but premeditated Injustice; so that 'tis more pernicious than open Vice. As *Tacitus* remarks in *Sejanus* (18), there is no greater Villainy, than under pretence of Virtue to exercise Vice (19). 'Tis a certain weakness to be openly wicked, but to counterfeit Virtue is true Villainy. Men more easily dispence with other Vices, but all loath Hypocrisy; for by them we only deceive our selves, but by this, others too. Nay, good Actions are despised if artificial, and not the Product of Virtue. *Vitellius* did many things to curry favour with the People, but those things which would have been really acceptable, had they proceeded from a Principle of Virtue, were (by the memory of his former Course of Life, and because every one saw that they were feigned and forced) look'd upon as base and vile (20). And, pray, who would dissemble Virtue, if it cost the same pains to do so, as to be really virtuous? If Virtues themselves, by reason of the wickedness of Manners, have scarce strength and power to subsist, how then should the false and counterfeit? Who e'er puts more confidence in these Tricks than in Divine Providence, denies that he receives his Crown and Preservation from God, and that he is the Disposer of Rewards and Punishments. If a Prince's Vices proceed from Weakness, and not from Affection, 'tis best to conceal them, that they may not give ill Examples; for to conceal them on that account, ought not to be accounted Hypocrisy, or a design to Cheat others, but rather Prudence, and an Esteem and Respect due to Virtue. There's no curb or restraint to that Power which does not veil its Tyrannies with some pretence or other. The Senators

(18) *Haud minus noxiæ, quoties, parando regni finguntur.* Tac. 4. Ann.
(19) *Extrema est perversitas, cum prorsus justitia vaces, ad id niti, ut vir bonus esse videaris.* Plat. (20) *Quæ grata sane & popularia, si à virtutibus proficiscerentur; memoria vitæ prioris, indecora, & vilia accipiebantur.* Tac. 2. Hist.

never feared *Tiberius*, more than when they saw him without Dissimulation (21). Yet *Tacitus* writes of *Piso*, that he was cried up by the People for Virtues, or something resembling them (22). I don't mean by this, that Virtues are the same in a Prince, whether feigned or real; but that the People are sometimes deceived, and take Hypocrisy for Virtue. Therefore how much more firm and lasting would *Piso*'s Fame have been, had it been supported by real and solid Virtues. The same inconveniences arise if a Prince is possest of real Virtues, but such as he will easily change for his conveniency; for that cannot be Virtue, which is not a firm and constant habit of the Mind, nor will it inhabit such a Breast with fears, not upon any prospect of advantage to turn it into Vice, and joyn with Villainy. And how can this ever be convenient for a Prince?

And what Case or Circumstance can require it, especially in these our times, when Rule and Empire are established upon sure Laws; not depending as in the *Roman*'s time, upon the Election and Insolence of the Soldiers. No danger can be so great, that a Prince by prudent Virtue may not avoid without having recourse to Vice. If at any time a Prince renown'd for Virtues be vanquished, 'tis not because he was good, but because he knew not enough how to be good. A Just Prince is not obliged hastily and rashly to confront and oppose Vice, where there is no prospect of Advantage, but certain and manifest Danger from this over-diligence; nay, 'tis a piece of great prudence to permit and suffer that quietly, which by Opposition can't be prevented (23). Let him dissemble the knowledge of their Vices, till he finds a convenient time to remedy

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(21) *Penetrabat Pavor, & admiratio, callidum olim, & regendis sceleribus obscurum, huc confidentiæ venisse, ut tanquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet Nepotem sub verbere Centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitæ alimenta frustra orantem.* Tac. 6. Ann. (22) *Claro apud vulgus rumore erat per virtutem, aut specie virtutibus similes.* Tac. 15. Ann. (23) *Permittimus, quod nolentes indulgemus, quia pravam hominum voluntatem ad plenum cohibere non possumus.* S. Chrysost.

them;

them; and in the mean time reward the Good, and punish the Bad, and use such other means as prudence shall suggest; but if these are not sufficient, let him leave it to his Successor, as *Tiberius* did, when he saw he could not reform the Manners of his time (24). For if through fear, a Prince should by doing ill conform himself to the Life and Manners of ill Men, he would not only not bring them into the way of Virtue, but would at the same time mislead the Good, so that both would grow worse; Virtue in a Prince is never dangerous, but rash Zeal and Severity often is. Villains don't hate a Prince for being good, but, because, for his too strict Severity they can't be wicked and lewd. There's no body but desires a Just Prince; the worst have need of such a one, that Justice may flourish, by which they may live not only secure from others, but from one another too. This *Seneca* meant, when, that he might perswade *Nero* from incestuous Conversation with his Mother, he threatned him that the Incest was divulg'd by his Mother, who gloried in't, and the Soldiers would not endure so vicious a Prince (25). Nay, so necessary are Virtues to a Prince, that without some Vices themselves can't subsist. Nor did *Sejanus* endear himself to *Tiberius* by other means, than by mingling Virtues with Vices (26). Such a mixture of Virtues and Vices one might see in *Lucinius Mucianus*; in *Vespasian* also, there were many notable Vices as well as Virtues (27). This is certain, *Sejanus*'s favour with *Tiberius* had been much more secure; and *Vespasian* and *Mucian*, had been much more accomplished Princes, if substracting their Vices, their Virtues only had re-

(24) *Non id tempus censuræ, nec si quid in moribus laboret defuturum corrigendi authorem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (25) *Pervulgatum esse incestum, gloriante matre, nec toleraturos milites profani Principis Imperium.* Tac. 14. Ann. (26) *Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax, sui obtegens, in alios criminator, justa adulatio, & superbia, palam compositus pudor, intus summa adipiscendi libido, ejusque causa, modo largitio, & luxus, sæpius industria, & vigilantia.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) *Ambigua de Vespasiano fama.* Tac. 1. Hist.

mained (28). If it be convenient for a Prince to be vicious, that he may distinguish the good from the bad, 'twill be sufficient only to know how to be so, without being practically so. Let him therefore be virtuous, but let him be so circumspect and prudent, that no Cheat or Knavery may scape him, no Villany but which he may see through; so by throughly observing each Man's Manners, and way of Life, he may Govern them the better. And in this Sense may their Opinions be taken, who think that Princes are so much the more secure, by how much they are more wicked than their Subjects (29). This sort of Vice relating to the knowledge of wickedness, is very expedient to know how to chastise, and also to bear with humane Frailties: Without that knowledge, severe Virtue is too rigid and dangerous for Government. Whence 'tis, that in a Prince manly Virtues are most requisite, such as are appropriated to Empire, not those monastick Melancholy ones, which make him timorous, slow, and unsteady in his Resolutions, averse to Humane Conversation, and more intent upon his own private Perfections than the Government of the Publick. The greatest Perfection in a Prince, is to answer the Obligations laid upon him by God Almighty.

Machiavel would not have a Prince counterfeit Virtues at certain times only, but he endeavours also to establish a sort of Policy upon Vice, by shewing how by help of this, the other may be advanced to the highest pitch; and by asserting that Men are ruined, because they know not how to be wicked; as if there might be a certain Science to be form'd of it. This Doctrine has made many Princes Tyrants, and ruined them. Men are not ruin'd, because they know not how to be wicked, but because wickedness it self can't long defend its self; for there is no Villainy so cunning

(28) *Egregium Principatus temperamentum, si demptis virtutibus utriusque vitiis solæ virtutes miscerentur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (29) *Eo Munitiores Reges censentur, quo illis, quibus imperitant, nequiores.* Salust.

and

and cautious, as to prevent its self from being caught at last in its own Snares. What skill can instruct a Man to keep a sound Judgment in his Vices, whose Sins trouble his Conscience, which though 'tis in us, yet by a certain Divine Impulse operates without us, being both Judge and Executioner of our Actions: whose Tyranny *Nero* felt after he had commanded his Mother to be kill'd, fearing that the Light which gave Life to others, brought his Death (30). The most resolv'd Spirit sometimes hesitates, and is confounded at the sight of Villainy: So it happened to *Sejanus*, when he plotted to extinguish the Family of *Tiberius*; he was confounded by the greatness of the Crime(31). *God taketh the wise in their own craftiness* (32). Vice is ignorance, opposed to Prudence; 'tis a Violence that toils to its own Ruin; 'tis a dangerous Building which falls upon his Head who built it. No Judgment is so great as to correct lesser Tyrannies by greater; and to what a vast Bulk might Men raise it? That very Example of *John Pagola* of *Peru*, which *Machiavel* makes use of to confirm his Assertion, makes it evident enough how dangerous 'tis to walk upon those Precipices, when though he had procured the Death of Pope *Julius* the Second, he could by no means accomplish his Villainy. The same also befel D. *Valentine*, whom he proposes as an Idea as 'twere to Princes; for he, that he might upon the Death of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, secure his own Affairs, drank to some of the Cardinals of the contrary Faction in a Bowl of Poison, but the Cups being by mistake changed, he and *Alexander* drank the Poison, upon which the Pope died suddenly, and *Valentine* was so ill upon't, that he could not be present at the Conclave, (which mischance all his cunning could not foresee and prevent) whence it happen'd too, that

(30) *Sed à Cæsare profecto demum sceleris magnitudo intellecta est; reliquo noctis, modo persæpius pavore exurgens, & mentis inops operiebatur, tanquam exitium allaturam.* Tac. 14. Ann. (31) *Sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adferebat.* Tac. 4. Ann. (32) Job 5. 13.

whom he desired was not elected, and he himself lost all that he unjustly possessed in *Romania*. Divine Providence does not permit Tyrants to thrive in their Designs (33): 'Tis Virtue only that has the Power to make God propitious to us, not wickedness. If any Tyrant has long enjoy'd his unjust Usurpations, 'tis the effect of some eminent Virtue or Natural Endowment, which hides his Vices, and makes him obey'd by the People. But Malice ascribes this to tyrannical Artifices, and from Examples of that Nature, picks out some impious and erroneous Maxims of State, to the ruin both of Princes and Empires. Besides, all don't Reign, who have the Scepter in their Hands, or the Crown upon their Heads; for Divine Justice, though it leaves them the Kingdom, takes away the Command, by permitting them to be Slaves to their Passions, and their Ministers, and to be oppressed by Misfortunes and Seditions. So was *Samuel*'s Prediction to *Saul* fulfilled, that as a Punishment for having disobeyed God, he should be no more King (34): For though he lived and died King, yet was his Reign but perfect Slavery.

(33) He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise, *Job* 5. 12. (34) Because thou hast rejected the Lord, he has also rejected thee from being King, 1 *Sam.* 15. 23.

EMBLEM XIX.

IN the Games of *Vulcan* and *Prometheus*, ſeveral Perſons being placed in a Row imployed themſelves thus: The firſt came out with a lighted Torch in his Hand, which he gave to the ſecond, and he to the third, and ſo from one to t'other; whence came the Proverb, *Curſu lampada trado*; apply'd to thoſe things which paſt as 'twere by Succeſſion from one to another. In which Senſe *Lucretius*,

Et quaſi curſores vitai Lampada trado.

Which he ſeems to have borrowed from *Plato*, when perſwading Men to Propagation, he ſays 'tis neceſſary, that Life which Men received from their Predeceſſors, they ſhould like a flaming Torch deliver down to Poſterity.

ſterity (1). What elſe is a Scepter, but ſuch a Torch as this, which paſſes by Succeſſion from one to another? What is it therefore that Majeſty aſſumes to its ſelf in this ſo ſhort and tranſitory Greatneſs? Many things are common to a Prince with other Men, there's but one thing, and that accidental too, which makes the difference. All thoſe don't humble his Mind, yet does this ſingle accident puff him up above others. Let him think that he is a Man, and that he governs Men; let him conſider well that he comes upon this great Theatre of the World to act the part of a Prince; and that he having his diſcharge, another ſhall ſucceed to thoſe Robes which he ſhall leave; and that of both of them only this will remain, that they once were. Laſtly, Let him know that theſe Robes wherewith he is cloathed, are not his own, but the States, which that only lends him, that he may be a while its Head, and may conſult for the Preſervation, Increaſe, and Proſperity thereof, as we have ſaid before.

When therefore a Prince has once begun to run the Race of this Life, furniſhed with the lighted Torch of his State; let it not be his only buſineſs to prolong his Race, for the Goal is already fixt beyond which he can't go; and who knows but that he may be now very near it, the Flame being expoſed to every blaſt of Wind. One ſingle Gale wrenched it from the Hands of King *Henry* the Firſt, er'e he was fourteen Years old. Alſo a fall from a Horſe prevented Prince *John*, Son of their moſt Catholick Majeſties from taking hold on't.

Let a Prince conſider alſo the fitneſs of his hand, the occaſion and right, that he mayn't raſhly graſp at more of theſe Torches, than either Succeſſion or lawful Election ſhall grant him. Had *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, conſidered this, he had never loſt his Electoral Dignity, his Places, and Titles ſo unfortunately,

(1) *Ut vitam, quam ipſi à majoribus, accepiſſent, viciſſim, quaſi tædam ardentem poſteris tradant.* Plato.

for

for being ambitious of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. And truly *Charles*, King of *Naples*, had ended his Race more successfully, had he been contented with the Torch of his own Kingdom, and not attempted to grasp at that of *Hungary*, where he was therefore poisoned.

Let not a Prince too readily trust his Torch to another, nor suffer any one to touch it with so great Authority. For Empire admits of no Companion. The Infant *Sancho* attempted to snatch this Torch from his Father, King *Alphonso* the Wise, by the same Power and Authority which he receiv'd from him. Nor were there wanting Pretences for the Infant of *Portugal*, to attempt the same against his Father, *Dionysius*.

These Torches of Kingdoms lighted by ill Methods, are commonly soon extinguish'd, for no Power acquired by wickedness is lasting. King *Garcias* forc'd his Father, *Alphonso*, to quit his Kingdom, but could not enjoy the Crown so gotten above three Years. *Fruela* the Third, possess'd but fourteen Months the Kingdom which he had attain'd rather by Force than Election. Violent Counsels h'an't always their desired Success. *Ramon* hop'd certainly to inherit the Throne of *Navarre*, if he could make away with his Brother *Sancho*; but the People abhorr'd him who had conceiv'd such a horrid Villainy, and so offer'd it to *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, his Uncle.

Let not a Prince unadvisedly trust his Torch out of his own Hands in his Life-time, least, if he should afterwards repent, it should befal him, as it did King *Alphonso* the Fourth, who having once resign'd his Kingdom to his Brother *Ramiro*, could never afterwards retrieve it, though he desir'd it. Ambition while in Possession regards not Justice, having always Arguments and Pretences at hand to defend it self. And who will not be mov'd by the difference between commanding and obeying.

Though these Torches do pass from Father to Son, yet let Kings remember that they receive them from God,

God, and that when he pleaſes they are to Surrender them to him, that they may know to whoſe Gift they ought to aſcribe them, and how ſtrict an Account they are to give of them. This King *Ferdinand* the Great did, who with his laſt Breath pronounc'd theſe Words, *Thine, O Lord, is Power, Empire is thine; Thou art Supream King of Kings; all things are under thy Providence. The Kingdom which from thy Hand I receiv'd, unto thee I reſign.* The ſame Words did King *Ferdinand* the Holy, uſe at the point of Death.

'Tis a glorious, though laborious Race which Heaven has deſign'd for your Royal Highneſs, which muſt be run not with one, but with ſeveral Torches of ſhining Diadems, which like the Sun, but without ever leaving us in the dark, will diffuſe their extended Light from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*. Furious Winds riſing from each part of the Horizon, will perhaps threaten them; but ſince God has lighted them to preceed the Standard of the Croſs, and to give light upon the Holy Altars of the Church, it may well be hop'd that theſe may ſhine like that (2); eſpecially if your Highneſs's Faith and Holy Zeal, would by holding them upright, make their Flame burn more clear and bright, its natural tendency being towards Heaven; and he who holds them obliquely, will make the Flame its ſelf feed upon and waſt them, but he who turns 'em directly downwards, oppoſite to Heaven, will immediately extinguiſh them; for the Matter which would elſe nouriſh them, will then extinguiſh them. Let your Highneſs therefore take care with theſe Lights to finiſh your Courſe with Glory, and Surrender them bright and flaming to your Succeſſor, not meerly ſuch as you receiv'd them, but illuſtrated and augmented with new Rays: For God weighs both Kingdoms and Kings when they begin to Reign, that he may afterwards require a juſt Account

(2) I will alſo give thee for a light to the *Gentiles*, that thou maiſt be my Salvation to the end of the Earth, *Iſaiah* 49. 6.

from

from them; thus he did with King *Balthazar* (3). And if *Otho* thoguht himself oblig'd to deliver up the Empire to Posterity, such as he had receiv'd it from his Ancestors (4); your Highness must acknowledge no less an Obligation deriv'd to you from your glorious Predecessors. So the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, resign'd his while he was yet living, to his Son *Philip* the Second: And though the wickedness of some can't attend the end of their Career, for fear of adverse Winds already rais'd, as was the Case of *Alphonso*, King of *Naples*, who seeing he could not resist *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, surrendred the Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*; yet certain 'tis, that his design was to make a timely Restitution of his Crown to God, and prepare himself for another, not Temporal but Eternal one, which once obtain'd may be securely enjoy'd without fear of ever being lost.

(3) Thou art weigh'd in the balance, and found wanting, *Dan.* 5.27.
(4) *Urbi nostræ institutum, & à Regibus usque ad Principes continuum, & immortalem, sicut à Majoribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

EMBLEM XX.

AMONG the Ceremonies of the *Athenians* at their Marriages, a certain little Boy, with a Basket of Bread in his Hand, and a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, went before the Bridegroom; by which, I believe, they intimated that Matrimony was not inſtituted for Pleaſure only, but alſo for Cares and Labours. By the ſame (if Emblems will admit Human Figures) might alſo be meant a Prince. For what thorny Cares does not he feel, who endeavours to maintain his State in Juſtice, Peace, and Plenty. What Difficulties does he experience? What Dangers is he liable to, who commands others (1)? His Fatigues ſhould be the Peo-

(1) *Quam arduum, quam ſubjectum fortunæ regendi cuncta onus?* Tac. 1. Ann.

ples

ples Reſt, his Dangers their Security, his Vigilance their Sleep. But we have here repreſented the ſame thing by a Crown, fine, indeed, and charming to ſight, but within full of Thorns and Briars; with this Motto of *Seneca* the Tragedian.

Falſe good! What Cares doſt hide,
Under the appearance of a gay outſide?

Who viewing thoſe Pearls and Diamonds, and thoſe Flowers which adorn a Crown, would not fancy that the inſide was much more fair and beautiful; yet is there nothing but ſharp Thorns, which continually prick and ſcratch the Head and Breaſt? There is not a Pearl in a Crown, but which is Sweat; nor a Ruby, but which is Blood; nor a Diamond, without ſome aſperity or roughneſs; 'tis a Circumference without a Center of reſt, a perpetual Motion of Cares *; for this reaſon Kings anciently wore a Crown made like a Ship, to repreſent its Inconſtancy, Trouble, and Dangers †. This he well knew, who, when a Crown was offered him, laid it down, with theſe Words, *Let him take thee up, who does not know thee.* Inſtead of Crowns they at firſt us'd Fillets, not as a Badge of Majeſty, but only to bind and preſerve the Head (2). So heavy are the Cares of a Crown'd Head, that it had need to be fore-arm'd; for to Reign is nothing but three continual Sighs and Toils, in preſerving, acquiring, and loſing. Therefore did the Emperor, *Mark Anthony*, ſay, That *Empire was the greateſt of Troubles.* Princes are born to labours, let them therefore inure themſelves thereto. The Kings of *Perſia* had a Chamberlain, who wak'd them betimes in the Morning with theſe Words, *Ariſe, O King, to look after the Affairs of your Kingdom.* Some Princes now-a-days would not endure ſuch diſturbance, for they perſwade themſelves that Eaſe, Voluptuouſneſs,

* Strabo. † Valer. Max. (2) Let them ſet a fair Mitre upon his Head, *Zach.* 3. 5.

and

and Vices, are the Rewards of Princes, but that the Shame and Disgrace thereof belong to others. Whereas some Princes shamefully neglect their Duty, it is because (as we shall mention elsewhere) they take the Kingdom for their Inheritance and Propriety, which they may use as they please, and think that their Authority and Sovereign Power is subject to no Laws, but altogether free to act as it list; in which Flattery encourages them, insinuating that without that freedom and liberty of living, a Kingdom would be the worst of Slavery, more intolerable than the meanest Condition of Subjects. Whence resigning themselves to Luxury and Pleasure, their Strength and Spirits flag, and themselves become wholly unfit for Government. Hence, I believe, it is, that among so many Princes, there are so very few good Governors, not that they want Natural Parts, for in those they usually exceed others, as being born of better Blood; but because that through Ease and Luxury they don't make use of them; nor do their Courtiers suffer it, for they make their Fortunes with more ease under a negligent than careful Prince. The Remedy against these Inconveniencies consists chiefly in two Things; The first is, That a Prince, should from his Youth, as soon as he has the use of Reason, be accustomed to the Management of Affairs, even before the Death of his Predecessor; thus God did with *Joshua*. And if in Matters of Concern and Trust, it be not convenient, for Reasons which I shall shew in the last Emblem but one; yet in other things it is, that his Mind may be diverted from Debauchery. This made the *Roman* Senate introduce their Youth to their Consultations. By the benefit of this many Popes Nephews, though they have been admitted very young to the Administration of Affairs, have in a few years made experienc'd Statesmen. The other is, That those that are near the Prince, should dexterously endeavour to root out of his Mind certain vain Opinions of his Greatness, and let him know that 'tis the common Consent of all that gives Power and Authority to the Scepter,

Scepter, for Nature made no Kings. That his Purple is an Emblem of Blood, which he should be ready upon occasion to shed for the People (4); that it was not given to breed and nourish the Moths of Vices: That he is born a Prince by chance; that Virtue only is the proper good of Man; that his Dominion is Government, not absolute Power, and that his Vassals are Subjects not Slaves. This Document the Emperor *Claudius* gave to *Meherdatus*, King of *Persia* (5). Let them advise the Prince so to do by those whom he Governs, as he would be done to were he a Subject; so *Galba* instructed *Piso* when he adopted him his Son (6). No Prince was ever elected only to be so, but that being so he might be serviceable to the rest. King *Antigonus* considering this, advis'd his Son not to abuse his Power, not to be proud or use his Subjects ill, *Knowest thou not, my Son*, said he, *that our Kingdom is but a noble Slavery* (7). Upon this the Woman grounded her Answer to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, who telling her he was not at leasure to hear her: *Then*, says she, *you are no more Emperor.* Subjects are not born for the King, but the King for the Subjects. 'Twould be too hard a Bargain for them to sell all their Liberty to the King, if in return they could not promise themselves Justice and Protection from him, to which end they voluntarily submitted themselves to his Command. The *Romans* in their Triumphs were crown'd with their own Shields (8), made into the circular Form of a Crown, whence were introduc'd the Diadems of the Saints, who were Victorious against the Common Enemy. A Prince deserves not a Crown, unless also he use it as a Shield to ward the Stroaks of adverse Fortune from his

(4) *Consulares fasces, prætextum, curulemque sellam; nihil aliud, quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus, velut infulis velatos ad mortem destinari.* Liv. 2. Hist. (5) *Ut non dominationem, & servos, sed rectorem & cives cogitaret.* Tac. 12. Ann. (6) *Cogitare quid aut noluerit sub alio Principe, aut voluerit.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *An Ignoras, fili mi, nostrum Regnum esse nobilem servitutem?* (8) With favour wilt thou compass him as with a Shield, *Psalm* 5. 12.

Subjects. To Reign is rather an Office than a Dignity, an Authority of a Father over his Children (9); and if the Subjects find not that Fatherly Care and Affection in the Prince, they owe him no Respect or filial Obedience. King *Ferdinand* the Holy, look'd upon his Government as an Office, which consisted in protecting his Subjects, in administring Justice, in chastising Vice, and procuring the Enlargement of his Territories; not sparing any pains for its Advantage, and according to this he always acted. Princes are (as we shall observe elsewhere) like Mountains, as well because they are nearer the Favours of Heaven; as because they should receive all Injuries of the Weather upon themselves, being Depositaries of Ice and Snow, which melting, should flow thence, and water and refresh the droughty Fields and Valleys beneath, and by the Shade of their Bodies defend them from the scorching Heat of the Sun (10). For this reason, the Scriptures call Princes Giants (11), for they that are born to sustain the weight of Government, had need be of a more than ordinary Stature: They are Giants which must undergo Fatigues and Groans (as *Job* says) under the Waters (12), by which are meant People and Nations (13). They are the Corners which sustain the whole Fabrick of the State (14). A Prince, who believes he is not born to do this for his Subjects, and does not prepare himself to shelter them from the Injuries of the Weather, dwindles from a Mountain to a Valley; nay, 'tis unlawful for him whom Heaven has design'd to Govern others, to regard his own ease and quiet.

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(9) *Ut enim gubernatio patrisfamilias est Regia quædam potestas domi; ita Regia potestas, est civitatis & gentis unius aut plurium quasi domestica quædam gubernatio.* Arist. Polit. 3. cap. 11. (10) For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress; a refuge from the Storm, a shadow from the heat, *Isa.* 25. 4. (11) There were Giants in the Earth in those days; the same became mighty Men, *Gen.* 6. 4. (12) Vid, *Job* 26. 5. (13) And the Waters which thou sawest, where the Whore sitteth, are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues, *Revel.* 17. 15. (14) Vid. 1 *Sam.* 14. 38.

Wamba

Wamba being elected King of the *Goths*, and refusing the Crown, a certain Captain with his drawn Sword threatned to stab him unless he accepted it; *Shall you alone*, says he to him, *oppose the Will of the whole Nation, and prefer your own Private Ease to the Publick Good?* For this reason, the States of *Guadalajara* would not suffer King *John* to resign his Kingdom to his Son *Henry*, he being too young, and himself having a Constitution fit for Government. Hence 'tis evident, That Princes are a part of the Commonmwealth, and that they are in some measure subject to it, as Instruments of its Preservation, so that their success or misfortunes respect it; as *Tiberius* told his Sons (15). Those who desired *David* for their King, told him, *We are thy Bone and thy Flesh* (16); intimating to him that he must with his own strength support them, and take upon himself all their Toils and Grievances.

A Prince ought also to be taught while he is young, to tame and govern the skittish Horse of Government; for should he let him have his Head, he would fall headlong with him: He should use therefore the Bridle of Reason, the Reigns of Policy, the Whip of Justice, and the Spurs of Valour, keeping always fast in the Stirrups of Prudence. He must not execute every thing that comes into his Mind, but only what is honourable and just, least he should transgress Piety, Reputation, Modesty, or good Manners (17). Let not a Prince imagine that his Power is wholly absolute, but subject by the publick Good and Interest of his State. Not immense, but limitted, and expos'd to many Casualties; one blast of Wind dissipated all *Philip* the Second's Naval Preparations against *England*.

Let the Prince also know, that his Authority is not so Sovereign, but that part of it remains in the Subject,

(15) *Ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad Remp. pertineant.* Tac. 4. Ann (16) 2 Sam. 5. 1. (17) *Facta quæ lædunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram, & ut generaliter dixerim, contra bonos mores fiunt nec facere eos credendum est.* L. 15. F. de Condit. Instit.

which they either reserv'd to themselves from the beginning, or which Common Sence has since granted them for their defence against any Prince notoriously unjust and tyrannical. Good Princes are pleas'd at the Liberty of their Subjects; Tyrants only would be absolute (18). The Safety and Preservation of the Kingdom, depends upon the well-temper'd freedom of the People. 'Tis not that Prince who is most powerful, that is most secure, but he who is so with reason; nor is he less Sovereign who defends the just Rights and Privileges of his Subjects. 'Tis rather prudence to let them enjoy 'em freely, for they never derogate from the Authority of the Prince, but when he thinks his Honour affronted, and endeavours wholly to take 'em away. Let him be content to maintain his Crown by the same means his Ancestors did. It seems to be this which God would admonish Princes of, (though in another Sence) by *Ezekiel* the Prophet (19), when he said, bind the tire of thine Head to thee; if any one shall wear it too loose, 'twill be very apt to fall off.

(18) *Quomodo pessimis Imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis libertatis modum placere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (19) Bind the tire of thine Head upon thee. *Ezek.* 24. 17.

EMBLEM XXI.

JUſtice is the Center from which the Circumference of a Crown is drawn. If we could live without one, there would be no need of t'other.

In former times all Princes Judges were,
And to ſee Juſtice done, was all their Care.

In the firſt Age there was no need of Puniſhment, for there were no Crimes; nor of Rewards, for Virtue and Glory were belov'd for their own ſakes. But as the World grew older, Wickedneſs encreaſed with it, and made Virtue more reſerv'd, which before liv'd freely and careleſsly in the Fields. When Equality was laid aſide, and Ambition and Force ſuppli'd the place of Modeſty and Shame, then Government was alſo intro-

duc'd. For Prudence urg'd by neceſſity, and Common Prudence oblig'd Men to Civil Society, that they might exerciſe Virtues, which Reaſon prompted them to, and make uſe of Speech which Nature gave them, that by revealing to one another the Senſe of their Minds, they might inform, aſſiſt, and defend each other (1). Society being thus by common Conſent eſtabliſh'd, there aroſe at the ſame time a certain Supream Power neceſſary to the Preſervation of its Parts, which by puniſhing Vice, and rewarding Virtue, might defend them in Peace and Juſtice. And becauſe this Authority could not be diffuſed through the whole Body, by reaſon of the Confuſion which would ariſe in the Execution thereof; and becauſe 'twas alſo neceſſary that ſome ſhould Command, and the reſt Obey, they quitted their Pretenſions to it, conferring it either upon one, few, or many, which are the three ſorts of Government; Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy. The firſt of which was Monachy; for originally Men were govern'd by one in each Family; afterwards they choſe from among the People, one, who excell'd others in Goodneſs and Virtue, whoſe Hand, as his Authority encreas'd, they honour'd with a Scepter, and his Head with a Diadem, as a Badge of the Power and Sovereignty which they had conferr'd upon him, which ſhould principally conſiſt in Juſtice, by which he ſhould preſerve and defend his Subjects in Peace; ſo that without that there is no Order of Government (2), and all Kingly Authority ceaſes, as it happened in *Caſtile*, which was reduc'd to the Government of Judges, the Kings being excluded for the Injuſtice of *Ordonno* and *Fruela*.

This Juſtice could not be well adminiſter'd by the mere Law of Nature, without imminent Danger to the Commonwealth; for ſince 'tis defin'd to be a conſtant and

(1) *Sermo verò datus eſt homini, ad utile & inutile, ac proinde juſtum ac injuſtum declarandum.* Ariſt. Pol. 1. cap. 2. (2) *Nam Reſpub. nulla eſt, ubi leges non tenent Imperium.* Ariſt. Pol. 4. cap. 4.

perpetual

perpetual desire of giving to every one their own (3), it would be very dangerous if it should depend upon the Opinion and Judgment of the Prince, and not be written; nor can mere natural Reason, though free from Affections and Passions, give true Judgment in such variety of Cases as happen continually. So that 'twas necessary for States to arm themselves with Laws, deduc'd from long use and experience, as well Penal as Distributive; these to punish faults, and those to give every one his own. Penal Laws are represented by a Sword, the Emblem of Justice, as *Trajan* intimated, reaching a Sword to the Captain of his Guards, with these Words, *Take this, and if I govern well, use it for me, if not, against me.* Equally sharp on both sides, as well for the Rich as the Poor; not with one Edge blunt, and t'other sharp; to spare one, and hurt another. Distributive Laws are represented by a Rule or Square, which measures indifferently the Actions and Rights of all (4). By this Rule of Justice things ought to be measured, not this Rule by things, as the *Lesbian* Rule was, which being made of Lead, easily adapted it self to all shapes of the Stone. The Prince ought to give Life and Vigour to both. King *Alphonso* the Wise said, That a King was the Heart and Soul of the State. And in another place he says, That *Rex* a King is the same with *Regula* a Rule. *Rex* a King, and *Lex* a Law, differ but in one Letter; and what else is a King but the Speaking law, and the Law but a dumb King; so much King that could it exert it self it should govern alone. Prudence has as it were divided the Power of Princes, and yet in their Persons it remains whole, yet it has subtilly transferr'd part thereof to Paper, so that it has left Majesty written and expos'd to the view of all, for the exercise of Justice, so that Justice and Chastisement, by means of the Law, anticipating Crimes, the Sentence might not be ascrib'd to the Will,

(3) For Justice is immortal, *Wisd.* 1. 15. (4) *Legem scimus Justi injustique regulam esse,* Seneca.

Paſſion, or Intereſt of the Prince, and that he might avoid the Odium of his Subjects. The Law is an excuſe for Rigour, a diſcountenancer of Favour, an inviſible Arm of the Prince, with which he holds the Reigns of the Government. There is no better way to make Authority reſpected and obeyed; for which reaſon the Law ſhould be punctually obſerv'd, nor ſhould force be us'd in any thing which may be decided by Law (5). When once a Prince proceeds that way, the Laws will ſoon loſe their force and efficacy (6): Crimes will be reckon'd Innocence, and Juſtice Tyranny (7): Nor is the Power of the Prince a little diminiſh'd, for that is ever more effectual with the Law than without it. 'Tis the Law that crowns, defends, and confirms a Prince (8), without it there would be no difference between Subjection and Command. True Policy is founded upon the Law, not upon Arbitrary Sway. They are the true Rule of Government, the Roads of Policy, by them as by certain Lines the Ship of the State ſails ſecurely; they are the Walls of Civil Power, the Eyes and Soul of the State, the Fetters of the Mob, and the Bridle (the preſent Emblem) which Guides and Curbs it (9). Even Tyranny it ſelf can't ſubſiſt without them.

The Determination of Juſtice could not be ſafely committed to the inconſtancy of the Will, which is ſubject to ſo many Affections and Paſſions, and of it ſelf perfectly blind; but it was neceſſary that it ſhould be reſtrain'd by certain fix'd Decrees and Statutes, founded upon Reaſon and Prudence, which ſhould without diſtinction be Obligatory to all. Such are the

(5) *Nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi poſſit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Minui jura quoties gliſcat poteſtas.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) The work of righteouſneſs ſhall be peace, and the effect of righteouſneſs, quietneſs and aſſurance for ever, *Iſaiah* 32. 17. (8) *Inauditi atque defenſi tanquam innocentes pereant.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (9) *Factæ ſunt autem leges, ut eorum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque ſit inter improbos innocentia, & in ipſis improbis reformidato ſupplicio refræneatur audacia & nocendi facultas.* Iſid. lib. 2. Etymol. L. legibus, C. de leg.

Laws

Laws which experience of paſt Accidents has provided for future ones; and ſince they can't explain themſelves, but are mere Bodies which receive Soul; and underſtanding from the Judges, with whoſe Tongues they ſpeak, and by whoſe Pens they are explain'd, and apply'd to particular Caſes, it being impoſſible to comprehend all; let a Prince be very careful to whom he commits them; for in them he entruſts his very Being, and the chief Inſtruments of Government; but the choice being once rightly made, let him not hinder the free exerciſe and ordinary courſe thereof, but leave it wholly to the Magiſtrate; but if Princes will through Clemency or Arbitrary Power, intermeddle with the Expoſition of the Laws; all this Politick Structure will fall, and thoſe Laws which ſhould prop and ſupport it, rather cauſe its ruin. Tyranny is nothing elſe but an ignorance and contempt of the Laws, aſſuming to it ſelf their Power and Authority. This *Rome* of old bewail'd as the chief cauſe of its Slavery, *Auguſtus* arrogating to himſelf the chiefeſt Offices in the Law, that he might the better play the Tyrant (10).

When Cæſar *to himſelf aſſum'd the Laws,*
Poor Rome *grew ſoon degenerate and baſe,*
Forgot her War, and ſlept in ſervile Peace. Claud.

A Prince in obſtructing the Laws encourages Vice, as it happ'ned in the time of the Emperor *Claudius* (11).

Multiplicity of Laws are very dangerous to a State, for they deſtroy one another; being too numerous they create Confuſion and Oblivion, or when they can't be obſerv'd are deſpis'd. A ſure ſign of a diſſolute and corrupt State; one contradicts another, and makes room for ſiniſter Interpretations, and different Opinions, whence ariſe Diſputes and Contentions

(10) *Inſurgere paulatim, munia ſenatus, Magiſtratuum, legum in ſe trahere.* Tac. 1. Ann. (11) *Nam cuncta legum, & Magiſtratuum munia in ſe trahens Princeps, materiam prædandi patefecit.* Tac. 11. Ann.

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The greateſt part of the People are taken up in Law, there want Men to manure the Ground; for Offices and War. A few good ſupport many bad, and many bad lord it over the few good. The Courts of Judicature are Harbours for Pirates, and Receptacles for Thieves. Thoſe very Men who ſhould be the Aſſertors of the Peoples Liberty, are the heavieſt Fetters of their Slavery (12). Too many Laws are not leſs pernicious to a State than Vices (12). He who makes many Laws, ſets many Traps, in which all muſt be caught. So *Caligula*, when he had a deſign upon the Innocent, eſtabliſhed many Laws, written in ſo ſmall a Character, that they could be hardly read. And *Claudius* publiſhed Twenty in one day, which ſo puzzled the People, that 'twas more difficult to know than to obſerve them. Therefore *Ariſtotle* ſaid, That few Laws were ſufficient for the weighteſt Caſes, and that the reſt ought to be left to natural Reaſon. Nothing is ſo prejudicial to State as multiplicity of Laws: Hence God threatened *Iſrael*, as a Puniſhment for their Sins, that he would multiply their Laws (14). To what purpoſe is it to make an Addition of new Laws upon every ſlight occaſion, when there is no caſe which has not happ'ned before, nor any inconveniency which has not been already conſider'd of, and by Obſervation and Experience provided for? Thoſe which are now introduc'd into *Caſtile*, as new, may be all found in the Ancient Records. The Obſervation of theſe would be much more agreeable to the People, and would create leſs Odium to the Prince, than the Promulgation of other new ones. In thoſe Judgment acquieſces, in theſe 'tis dubious and unſteady; thoſe ſeem to be founded with care, the Authority of theſe is queſtionable; thoſe may ſafely be renew'd, theſe can't be introduc'd with-

(12) *Deditque jura, queis pace, & Principe uteremur, acriora ex eo vincula inditi cuſtodes.* Tac. 3. Ann. (13) *Utque antehac flagitiis ita nunc legibus laborabatur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) Becauſe *Ephraim* hath made many Altars to Sin, Altars ſhall be unto him to Sin. *Scribam ei multiplices leges meas*, ſays the *Latin* Verſion, *Hoſ.* 8. 11, 12.

out

out danger. To make Experiments of new Medicines is dangerous to Health and Life; many Herbs before the way of preparing them were known, were Poiſon. Better is that State govern'd, whoſe Laws, though imperfect, are ſettled, than that which is continually changing them. The Ancients to intimate that Laws, ought to be perpetual, wrote them upon Tables of Braſs (15), and God engrav'd them with his Eternal Finger upon Stone (16). For this reaſon *Auguſtus* adviſ'd the Senate, that they ſhould preſerve their Laws intire without altering them; for that tho' they were bad, they were more beneficial to the State than new ones (17). There is no Kingdom but is provided with Laws ſufficient; but care ought to be taken, leaſt the variety of Interpretations ſhould render them ambiguous and obſcure, and occaſion Diſputes and Controverſies. This ought to be prevented, which might with eaſe be done in *Spain*, if ſome King, upon this account not leſs a Reſtorer than *Pelagius*, would abbreviate all Proceſſes, and leaving the Civil Law, would make uſe only of thoſe of the Kingdom, which are not leſs prudent and learned than juſt and reaſonable. This King *Receſewind* meant, when in one of his Laws he ſaid,

Alſo King Alphonſus *the Wiſe, commanded his Judges.*

This their Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Joan*, afterwards confirm'd, as did King *Alarick*, who laid ſevere Penalties upon the Judges for admitting the Pleas of the *Roman* Laws. Nor does it a little derogate from Supream Juriſdiction to be govern'd by Foreign Laws. To this I

(15) *Uſus æris ad perpetuitatem monumentorum jampridem tranſlatus eſt tabulis æreis, in quibus conſtitutiones publicæ inciduntur.* (16) And he gave unto *Moſes*, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount *Sinai*, two Tables of Teſtimony, Tables of Stone written with the Finger of God. (17) *Poſitas ſemel leges conſtanter ſervate, nec ullam earum immutate; nam quæ in ſuo ſtatu eademque manent, etſi deteriora ſint, tamen utiliora ſunt Reipublicæ, his quæ per innovationem, vel meliora inducuntur.* Dion. l. 52.

foreſee

foreſee two Objections; firſt, that if theſe Laws were written in *Spaniſh*, the *Latin* Tongue would be loſt, and the Lawyers would apply themſelves wholly to the Study and Explanation of them only; beſides, that without the knowledge of the Civil Law, from whence they are deriv'd, they could not be well underſtood. The other is, that ſince the Civil Law is Common to almoſt all *Europe*, according to which cauſes ought to be decided, and that the Rights and Privileges of Princes are often to be determin'd in Foreign Parliaments, and Courts of Judicature; it will be very neceſſary to have Men well vers'd in the ſaid Law. Which inconveniences will be eaſily remedied by erecting and indowing ſome places for Civil Lawyers in the Univerſities; as (though upon different Motives) King *Ferdinand* did.

But if this can't be effected, the foremention'd inconveniences may be thus remedied; firſt by prohibiting ſuch a vaſt number of Books to be imported, which ſerve only to clear the Pockets, not the underſtanding, nor is Printing any thing elſe now-a-days, but Merchandize and Trade. This variety confounds the Senſes, embarraſſes and puzzles the Judgment. 'Twould be more adviſeable, where the written Laws are not full enough for the Deciſion of any Controverſy, to be guided by Reaſon, that living Law, rather than to grope for Juſtice in the obſcurity of ſuch diverſity of Opinions, equally favourable to each ſide, and ſubject to Subornation and Paſſion. Next, by ſhortening the tedious Methods of the Law, as King *Philip* the Second deſign'd to do at *Milan*, when he conſulted with the Senate about that Affair. In which he not only reſpected the good of the Subject, but alſo that in that State, which is the Bullwark of the Kingdom, there might be more Men of the Sword than the Gown. The ſame was attempted by the Emperors, *Titus* and *Veſpaſian*, *Charles* the Fifth, their Catholick Majeſties, *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, *James* the firſt of *Arragon*, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*; none of them being able

able to effect it, nor can any one else hope to bring it about, since for the reforming the Practice of the Bench, the Judges themselves must be of Counsel, whose Interest it is to prolong Suits, as 'tis that of Soldiers to continue War. 'Twas pure necessity oblig'd the most Serene Queen *Isabel*, of her own accord, to make use of this Remedy, when being at *Sevil* harrass'd with vexatious Appeals, she commanded all Suits depending, to be by the assistance of able and learned Men, decided in her presence, without the noise of the Bar, and that Accumulation of Informations and Processes, and truly successfully enough as experience has shewn. The Cantons of *Switzerland* are very prudently govern'd, because there are no Lawyers among them; the Witnesses are heard, and without writing down any thing, except the Judgment, the Causes are immediately decided. A quick Condemnation is more expedient for the Client, than a favourable Judgment after a tedious dependance. He who commences a Law-suit now-a-days, does as it were plant a Palm-Tree, which he can't expect to live to gather the Fruit of. In a State where Suits are long and tedious, the People can never live peaceably and amicably (18). Let there therefore be few Counsellors, Attornies, and Sollicitors. How can that Government be quiet, in which there are so many who get their living by raising and promoting Feuds and Law-suits? What hopes of Restitution to the injur'd, when there are so many ready to fleece and strip him? Suppose them to be Persons of Worth and Integrity, yet is Justice ne'er the better administred for their number; no more than a Disease is better cur'd by many Physicians. Nor would it redound to the Common Good, if with the loss of the Publick Tranquility, and the Estates of the People, there should be made too nice a scrutiny into every ones Right: A moderate and moral Care is sufficient.

(18) *Non fuerint concordes unquam, aut inter amantes cives, ubi mutuæ multæ lites judiciales sunt, sed ubi ea brevissimæ & pacissimæ.* Plato.

Nor

Nor does leſs damage arrive from an abundance of Penal Laws to prohibit Luxury in Cloaths, and ſuperfluous Expences; for ſuch Edicts are generally ſlighted, and not obſerved; the ſame Month in which they are eſtabliſh'd, they are aboliſh'd. They are like the Reſponſes of the *Sibyls*, written upon Leaves, and ſcatter'd by the Wind. And if once this diſobedience takes place, it makes Luxury more inſolent and ſecure (19). The Prince's Reputation ſuffers, when the Remedies which he preſcribes are ineffectual, or not obſerv'd. The Edicts of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Dutcheſs of *Parma*, not being executed, derogated much from her Authority in *Flanders*. Therefore 'tis a queſtion, whether moderate Luxury be not a more tolerable Inconveniency, than a Prohibition when not obey'd (20)? Or whether it be not better to wink at old and ſettled Vices, than by feeble Laws to ſhew that they are ſtronger than the Prince? If Laws are once broken, unpuniſhed, there is no reſtraint or ſhame beyond. If a Prince would expreſs theſe Laws and Edicts about Reformation of Manners in himſelf, perhaps Flattery, or the natural Propenſity in Inferiors to imitate their Superiors, or the Subjects their Prince, would be more effectual than the rigour of the Law, and that without danger to Sovereign Authority. Frugality, which the Sumptuary Laws could not introduce, the Emperor *Veſpaſian* did, only by his Example (21). The Imitation of the Prince, is a Slavery ſweetned by Flattery. 'Tis eaſier for Nature to err in her own Works, ſaid *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, than for the Subjects not to obſerve the Manners of their Prince. In him, as in a Glaſs, the People adjuſt their Actions:

(19) *Tot à majoribus repertæ, tot quas divus Auguſtus tulit, illæ oblivione, hæ (quod flagitioſius eſt) contemptu abolitæ, ſecuriorem luxum fecere.* Tac. 3. Ann. (20) *Num coercio plus damni in Remp. ferret; quam indecorum attrectare, quod non obtineretur, vel retentum ignominiam & infamiam virorum illuſtrium poſceret.* Tac. 3. Ann. (21) *Sed præcipuus adſtricti moris autor Veſpaſianus fuit, antiquo ipſe cultu, victuque obſequium inde in Principem, & æmulandi amor validior, quam pœnæ ex legibus, & metus.* Tac. 3. Ann.

The

——————The Nation follows ſtill,
The Faſhions of the Court, and 't always proves,
Example more than Law the People moves. Claud.

Cuſtoms are Laws, not written upon Paper, but in the Mind and Memory of all, and are more grateful when not forc'd, but a free choice and ſort of liberty; and the ſame common Conſent, which firſt introduc'd them, ſtill obſerves them ſo ſtrictly, that it won't permit them to be altered though they are bad, for common Opinion, by which, after they have been received by their Anceſtors, the People are fully perſwaded they are juſt and reaſonable, does prevail more in this matter than the ſtrongeſt Arguments; nay, than the Inconveniences themſelves which are found in them. 'Tis therefore more prudent to bear with them, than wholly to remove them. A prudent Prince governs his State without altering its Cuſtoms (22). But if they are oppoſite to Virtue or Religion, they ought to be dexterouſly corrected, and the People by degrees prepared to know the reaſon. King *Froila* incurr'd the odium of many by diſannulling the Cuſtom of the Clergy's marrying, which had been before introduc'd by *Witiza*, and confirm'd by the Example of the *Greeks*.

If the State be not well conſtituted, and the Peoples minds docil and corrigible, Laws will be of ſmall uſe (23). Which I believe *Solon* meant, when being ask'd what Laws were beſt; he anſwered, thoſe which the People obſerve. Medicines are of no uſe where the Diſeaſe is incurable. Laſtly, Laws will be inſignificant, unleſs the Prince by his Life and Example confirm and ſtrengthen them (24). That Law ſeems pleaſant and eaſy to the People, which the Legiſlator himſelf obſerves:

(22) *Mos hominum tutiſſime agere, qui præſentibus moribus, legibuſque etiam ſi deteriores ſint, minimum variantes Rempub. adminiſtrant.* Thucid. (23) *Quid leges ſine moribus vana proficiunt?* S. Aug. (24) *Digna vox eſt Majeſtate regnantis, legibus alligatum ſe profiteri.* L. 4. C. de Leg.

If

If you command, and hope to be obey'd,
Observe your self those Laws your self first made.
The People then will due Obedience shew;
To you who make Laws, and observe them too. Claud.

The Laws made by *Servius Tullius*, were not only for the People, but also for the Prince (25). By them Controversies between the Prince and People ought to be determined: As *Tacitus* relates of *Tiberius* (26). *Tho'* (said the Emperors, *Severus* and *Antoninus*) *we are free from the Laws, yet we live by them.* A Prince is not oblig'd by the strict Letter of the Law, but by the Reason on which 'tis grounded, for that is natural and common to all, not peculiar to Subjects only for their good Government; for in such case the Observation of the Law belongs to them alone, tho' 'twill be very necessary, if the Case will allow, for him to conform himself to them, that so they may seem the more pleasant to others. This was the meaning of God's Command to *Ezekiel*, that he should eat the Roll (27). That others seeing that he had first tasted the Laws, and found them sweet as Honey, all might imitate him. The Kings of *Spain* are so subject to the Laws, that the Treasury in cases of the Royal Patrimony, runs the same fortune with any other Subject, and in a doubtful case is condemn'd. So it was enacted by *Philip* the Second; and once when his Grandson, *Philip* the Fourth, your Highness's Father, was present in Council, upon a Debate of a Case relating to the Exchequer, neither the Judges wanted Integrity to give it against him, nor his Majesty Temper to hear it without Resentment. Happy is that State, in which the Prince's Cause is the worst (28).

(25) *Quibus etiam Reges obtemperarent.* Tac. 3 Ann. (26) *Siquando cum privatis disceptarent, forum & jus.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) Eat this Roll, and go speak unto the House of *Israel*; so I opened my Mouth, and he caus'd me to eat the Roll, *Ezek.* 3. 1, *and* 2. (28) *Quæ gloria tua est præcipua, sæpe vincitur Fiscus cujus mala causa nunquam est, nisi sub bono principe.* Plin. in Pan.

EMBLEM XXII.

THough the Peoples Conſent confers the Power of Juſtice upon Princes, they receive it immediately from God, as being his Vicars in Temporal Affairs. They are the Royal Eagles, the Miniſters of *Jove* (1), who Adminiſter his Thunder, and ſupply his place in puniſhing Vice, and adminiſtring Juſtice; in which they have need of three Qualities of the Eagle, ſharpneſs of Sight to inſpect Crimes, ſwiftneſs of Wing for Execution, and ſtrength of Talons, that they main't fail therein. The Injury done by a certain Nobleman to a poor Peaſant, though in the remoteſt Corner of *Ga-*

(1) For he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the Sword in vain, *Rom.* 13. 4.

licia, could not escape the quick sight of King *Alphonso* the Seventh, call'd Emperor, who disguising himself, went immediately to punish him with such speed, that he apprehended him before he knew any thing of his coming. O lively and ardent Soul of the Law! to be himself Judge and Executioner, to satisfy an Injury done to a poor Peasant, and to punish the unjust Oppression of the Grandee. The same did King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, who being at *Medina*, went privately to *Salamanca*, and seized *Roderigo Maltonado*, who exercis'd great Oppressions in the Castle of *Monleon* (2). Who would ever transgress the Laws, if he always fear'd such a surprise? One such as this would frighten and reform a whole Kingdom. But it is not always expedient for Majesty it self to imitate such Examples. When the State of the Kingdom is well settled, when the Courts of Judicature are open, and the fear of the Law is fresh and lively, 'tis sufficeint for a Prince to see Justice administer'd by his Ministers. But when all is in Confusion, when Obedience staggers; when the King's Authority is slighted, as 'twas in those times, then some such suddain and severe Punishment will be seasonable, that the People may know the Power of their Prince, and understand, that as in a Humane Body, so in a Kingdom, the Soul of Majesty is all in all, and all in every part. Yet 'twill be very necessary to moderate this severity, when the Distemper is inveterate, and the Kingdom confirm'd in Vice; for if Virtue should be too severe upon Vice, and endeavour to reform all at once, 'twould be esteem'd rather Cruelty than Justice. Time must recruit that which time has weakned; to precipitate a Cure is dangerous, and may make the Prince experience the Rage of the incens'd Multitude. Connivance and Dexterity is often more effectual than force. In this King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was excellent; and by this King *Peter* was deceiv'd, who relying wholly

(2) Mar. Hist. of *Spain*.

upon

upon Severity, got the Name of Cruel. Though Justice be one single Virtue, yet has it various Effects, according to the difference of time. Sometimes the People wholly reject it, and become more Insolent; sometimes they acknowledge the damage of their excess, and co-operate with the Prince to remedy it, and suggest the most severe means against their own Liberty, by which the Prince acquires the Name of Just without danger.

Let not a Prince remit the Punishment of such Offences against the Government, in which few are concern'd, but pardon those in which many are involv'd. *Agrippa* being put to Death, in the Isle of *Planasia*, by the Order of *Tiberius*, a certain Slave who was very like him, stealing away his Ashes, pretended that he was *Agrippa*; the *Romans* believ'd it; the Report spread, and caus'd a Tumult, with evident danger of a Civil War. *Tiberius* caus'd the Slave to be apprehended, and put to Death privately, and though many Gentlemen and Senators of his own Family, were said to have assisted him with Money and Advice (3), yet would he suffer none to speak in his behalf. Thus Prudence triumph'd over Cruelty, and by Silence and Connivence he appeas'd the Disorder.

Let a Prince pardon small Offences, and punish great ones; sometimes let him be content with Repentance, which *Tacitus* commended in *Agricola* (4). He is not the best Governor who punishes with most Severity, but he who pardons with such Discretion and Circumspection, as not to give any occasion to the Delinquents to transgress again. No body commends a Chirurgeon for cutting off many Legs and Arms; no body hates a Prince for punishing, provided he does it with Reluctancy and Grief; but him who de-

(3) *Et quanquam multi ex ejus domo equites ac senatores sustentasse opibus, juvisse consiliis, dicerentur.* Tac. 2. Ann. (4) *Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commendare; nec pœna semper, sed sæpius pœnitentia contentus esse.* Tac. in Vit. Agric.

lights in it, and eagerly carps at all opportunities of doing it. To puniſh for Example, and amendment is Mercy; but to do it through Paſſion or Avarice is Tyranny. Let not a Prince ſuffer any one to think himſelf ſo great, and free from the Laws, as to dare to oppoſe the Miniſters of Juſtice, and thoſe who repreſent its Power and Authority, for ſo the Pillar of Juſtice can't ſtand ſecure (5), when ſuch boldneſs once takes place, contempt will by degrees undermine it, and bring it to the Ground. The chief Foundation of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, and that which has rais'd it to ſuch an height, and keeps it ſo, is the inviolable Obſervation of Juſtice and Rigour, by which its Kings have always taken care to make it reſpected and eſteem'd of all. No Violation of it goes unpuniſh'd, though great be the Dignity and Authority of the Delinquent. A certain Judge at *Corduba*, was by the Command of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, enquiring into ſome Miſdemeanor, whom when the Marquiſs of *Puego* had arreſted, the King ſo reſented it, that all the Signal Services of that Family of *Corduba*, could not hinder him from puniſhing him very ſeverely; afterwards he put himſelf wholly into his Majeſty's Hands, by the Advice of the Great Captain, who ſeeing the heinouſneſs of the Crime, which would not admit of Pardon, wrote to him to caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, by which he might perhaps expiate his Crime, but if not he would certainly be ruined (6).

Nor ought a Prince only to puniſh Crimes committed againſt his own Perſon, or during his Reign; but thoſe alſo which were acted in the laſt, though the State were then under the Power of an Enemy. For Preſidents of Diſobedience and Contempt of Authority being conniv'd at, or rewarded, are dangerous even to Succeſſors. Dignity is ever the ſame, being always

(5) *Hanc P. C. curam ſuſtinet Princeps, hâc omiſſâ funditus Remp. trahet.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) Mar. Hiſt of *Spain.*

eſpouſed

espoused to him who possesses her. Wherefore he defends his own Cause, who takes care of his Predecessor's Honour, though 'twas not wounded in his time. A Prince ought not to leave behind him the Memory of one, who has been so impudent as to affront Authority unpunish'd; for if once Subjects are perswaded that they may raise their Fortunes, or satisfy their Passions, by the Death or Abuse of the Prince, none will be able to live secure. The Punishment of Impudence to the Predecessor, is the security of the Successor, and a warning to all from daring to attempt the like. For which reason *Vitellius* put all those to Death, who petition'd him for Rewards for the Murther of *Galba* (7). Every one is treated as he treats others. *Julius Cæsar* commanding the Statues of *Pompey* to be erected, confirm'd his own. If Princes should not unite against Contempt and Treason, Authority and Loyalty would be in danger.

In Cases where the same circumstances concur, a Prince ought not to connive at some and punish others, for nothing renders them more odious than partiality (8). Whence the *Egyptians* signified the Equality which should be observ'd in Justice, by the Feathers of an Ostrich, which are equal on both sides.

'Tis great Prudence in a Prince to find such sorts of Punishments, as will expiate the Offence, with the least damage to the Delinquent. Certain Noblemen fomented Disturbances in *Galicia*; and though they deserv'd Death, King *Ferdinand* the Fourth call'd them to him, and gave them employs in the Army, where some of them were punish'd by the Enemy, others by the Hardships and Toils of War, and so that Province was reduc'd to its former Tranquility.

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(7) *Non honore Galbæ, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad præsens, in posterum ultionem.* Tac. Hist. lib. 1. (8) *Cavendum est ne iisdem de caussis alii plectantur, alii ne appellantur quidem.* Cic. de Off.

As in time of Peace, Juſtice and Mercy are very advantageous, ſo in War are Rewards and Puniſhments; becauſe there the Dangers are ſo great, as would not be attempted without great hopes, and nothing but fear could reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers. In ſo much as without theſe two things, ſays King *Alphonſo*, *The Faults which are committed in War are much more dangerous; for if Men have ſo much to do to defend themſelves from the Miſchief of their Enemies, how much more have they from that which accrues from their own Faults?* For which reaſon the *Romans* inflicted divers ſorts of Infamy and Puniſhment upon the Soldiers who fail'd in their Duty, or in any dangerous Attempt or Military Affair; whence they were leſs afraid of the Enemy than the Puniſhment, and choſe rather to die bravely in Action, than to loſe their Honour or Lives afterwards with perpetual Ignominy and Diſgrace. In thoſe times none durſt Deſert, becauſe he could not ſhelter himſelf in any part of the Empire. Now-a-days Deſerters are not only not puniſhed when they return to their own Country; but ſculking from Battel, they March from *Milan* to *Naples*, where as if they had ſerv'd under ſome other Prince, they are again liſted into his Majeſty's Service, to the great detriment thereof. In which the Vice-Roys ſhould follow the Example of the *Roman* Senate, who after the Battel of *Cannæ*, though they were in extream want of Soldiers, could not be induc'd to redeem ſix thouſand Priſoners which *Hannibal* offered them, thinking them not worth Redemption, who ſuffer'd themſelves ignominiouſly to be taken Priſoners, when they might have died glorioufly.

The Errors of Generals committed through ignorance, ought rather to be conniv'd at than puniſh'd, leaſt the fear of being puniſhed or reprimanded ſhould make them too timorous. Beſides the greateſt Prudence may be confounded in Accidents of War, whence they deſerve Compaſſion rather than Puniſhment. *Varro* loſt the Battel of *Cannæ*, and at his return the whole Senate

Senate went out to receive him, thanking him for that in such a total Defeat he had not wholly despair'd of Affairs.

When connivence is not convenient, but the Execution of Justice is required, let it be done with readiness and resolution. He who does it privately and by stealth, is more like an Assassine than a Prince. He who checks the Authority which the Crown gives him, either doubts his Power or Merit; from the Prince's distrust of himself proceeds the Peoples disrespect. Whose Opinion of him is answerable to what he has of himself. King *Alphonso* the Wise lost the esteem of his People, by doing Justice in private. This can be convenient only in troublesome times, when greater Dangers may be fear'd, if the People don't see the Authors of Seditions punish'd e'er they know they are taken. Thus *Tiberius* acted for fear of this Inconveniency (9). In other Cases let a Prince execute that Office boldly and vigorously, which he holds in the Name of God and the People; for 'twas Justice that at first gave him his Scepter, and 'tis that which must preserve it. 'Tis the Will of God, the Harmony of Government, and the Protection of Majesty. If the Laws be once suffer'd to be broken unpunish'd, there will be neither Fear nor Modesty, and without them no Peace nor Quiet (10). Yet let Princes consider that they are like Masters of Families; nay, that they really are such in respect to their Subjects, and therefore let them temper Justice with Clemency. They ought to drink the Sins of the People, as God intimated to St. *Peter*, by that Vessel of unclean Animals, out of which he commanded him to eat (11). A Prince should have the Stomach of an Ostrich, so

(9) *Nec Tiberius pœnam ejus palam ausus, in secreta palatii parte interfici jussit, corpusque clam auferri.* Tac. 2 Ann. (10) *Si prohibita impunè transcenderis, neque metus ultrà neque pudor est.* Tac. 3. Ann. (11) Wherein were all manner of fourfooted Beasts of the Earth, and wild Beasts, and creeping Things, and Fowls of the Air; and there came a Voice unto him, Rise, *Peter*, kill and eat, *Acts* 10. 12, 13.

hot with Mercy as to digeſt Iron, and ſhould be alſo an Eagle with the Thunder of Juſtice, which by ſtriking one terrifies all. For if all were to be puniſh'd who tranſgreſs'd, there would be none left for the Prince to Command, for there is ſcarce any Man ſo juſt, as not to have one time or other deſerved Death (12). The Rigour of Juſtice is not leſs dangerous to the Crown, Life, and Empires, than Injuſtice. Of this King *John* the Second is an Example, who for his great Severity became odious to his People: And King *Peter* the Cruel, loſt thereby his Kingdom and Life too. Let Juſtice and Mercy walk hand in hand, ſo link'd together, as if they were Parts of the ſame Body, yet ſo that one may be us'd without Offence to the other. For this reaſon God gave not the flaming Sword, which guarded Paradiſe, to a Seraphim, which is all Love and Mercy; but to a Cherubim, a Spirit of Knowledge, who knew better how to temper Juſtice with Clemency (13). Nothing is more pernicious than a Prince over-merciful. In the times of *Nerva* they us'd to ſay, That 'twas more difficult to live under a Prince who bore with all, than one who bore with nothing. For he is not leſs Cruel who pardons all, than he who forgives none, nor is exceſſive Mercy leſs prejudicial to the People than Cruelty (14); and ſometimes Indulgence and Forbearance does more miſchief than the Crime it ſelf. For wickedneſs grows bolder, when it can promiſe it ſelf pardon. 'Twas the Clemency, or rather Negligence of King *Henry* the Fourth, that made his Reign as Bloody as that of King *Peter* was by his Cruelty. Clemency and Severity, the one profuſe, and the other moderate, make the Prince beloved (15). He who can neatly and pru-

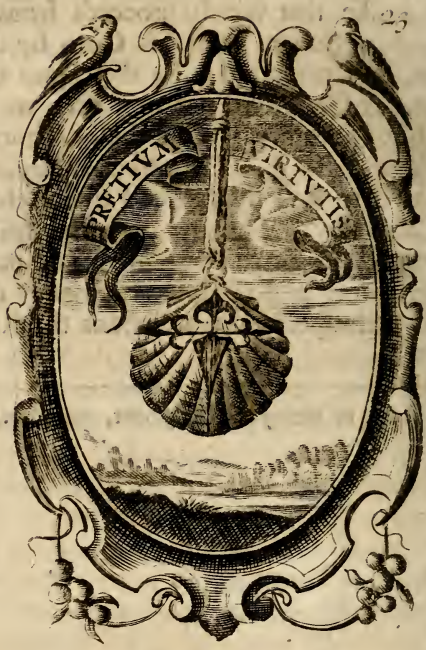
(12) *Vix enim quiſquam adeò mali expers, ut non aliquam mortem meretur.* Tac. 2. Ann. (13) And he plac'd at the eaſt end of the Garden of *Eden* Cherubims, and a flaming Sword, *Gen.* 3. 24. (14) *Fæliciores ſunt improbi, ſupplicia luentes, quam ſi eos nulla juſtitiæ pœna coerceat.* Boet. lib. 4. Phil. (15) *Mirumque amorem aſſecutus erat effuſæ clementiæ, modicus ſeveritate.* Tac. 6. Ann.

dently

dently temper these Virtues, can't chuse but govern well; nay, his whole Reign will be a tuneful Harmony, like that which proceeds from a Base and Treble (16). Heaven produces Corn by the mildness of its Dew, and preserves it by the rigour of its Frosts and Snows. If God were not merciful, we should fear him, but not adore him; both these Virtues make him both fear'd and lov'd. Therefore *Alphonsus*, King of *Arragon*, us'd to say, by Justice I oblige the good, the bad by Clemency. The one compels their Fear, the other engages their Love. Confidence of pardon makes Subjects arrogant, and excessive Clemency creates Contempt and Disrespect, and occasions the Ruin of Governments.

(16) I will sing of Mercy and Judgment, unto thee, O Lord, will I sing.

EMBLEM XXIII.



THERE are no greater Chymists than Princes, who set a value upon worthless Trifles in bestowing them upon others as a Reward of Virtue (1). The *Romans* invented several sorts of Crowns, as Mural, Civick, and Naval, as glorious Badges of great and worthy Exploits; these Nature suppli'd them with as Grass, Palm, and Bays; of which without any cost they made those Crowns. The Treasury would not have been sufficient to have rewarded Services, had not that politick Invention of Crowns been thought on; which being given as publick Testimonies of Va-

(1) *Imperator aliquando torquibus, murali, & civicâ donat; quid habet per se pretiosum, quid prætexta, quid fasces, quid tribunal, quid currus? nil horum honor est, sed honoris insigne.* Sen. lib. 1. de Ben.

lour

lour were more valued and esteem'd than Gold or Silver. The Soldiers underwent all Fatigues and Dangers to obtain them. For the same reason the Kings of *Spain* founded Military Orders, whose Badges were not only marks of Nobility, but also of Valour; so that all care ought to be taken to keep up their Value and Esteem, by bestowing them with great attention and respect to Merit; for they are so much esteem'd as they are tokens of Nobility and Bravery; but if without distinction they should be promiscuously conferr'd on all, they would grow cheap and contemptible. And *Arminius* might well jeer his Brother *Flavius* (who follow'd the *Roman* Faction) that when he had lost an Eye in Battel, he should call to mind the Collar and Crown, the cheap Rewards of Slavery (2). The *Romans* so well knew of what advantage 'twas to preserve the Peoples Esteem for those Rewards, that *Tiberius* held a Council about the Qualifications which a Soldier ought to be indow'd with, to merit a Crown of Oak. In the Badge of the Order of St. *James*, (the Figure of this present Emblem) are express'd the Endowments which ought to be consider'd ere it is bestow'd; for the ground-work is a Scollop-shell, the Product of the Sea, bred among Waves and Billows, and inur'd to Fatigues; in its fair Bosom shines the Pearl, the Emblem of Nobility and Virtue, as well for its Purity, as that it is bred by the Dew of Heaven; when these are bestow'd upon Children, or such who have not deserv'd them by any signal Service, they are tokens of Favour, not Rewards. Who will endeavour to merit them by Services, if he can obtain them by diligence? They were instituted for War, not Peace, and so ought to be distributed among those only who have signaliz'd themselves therein, or serv'd at least four Years in the Army, and made themselves fit for Preferment (3), which doubtless would induce more of the

(2) *Irridente Arminio vilia servitii præmia.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) *Honoris augmentum non ambitione, sed labore ad unumquemque convenit pervenire.* L. contra publicam C. de re milit.

Nobility

Nobility to apply their minds to Arms, and the Art of War would flourish more.

This, because the *Athenians* neglected, they became a Prey to the *Macedonians* (4). *Alexander Severus* considering the importance of gratifying the Soldiery, as being the Foundation and Security of the Empire, divided the Contributions among them; esteeming it a great Crime to squander it away in Luxury, or upon his Courtiers (5).

Let other Rewards be common to all, who signalize themselves either in War or Peace; to this end the Scepter was endow'd with Riches, Honours, and Offices; as also with the Power and Authority of Justice, that with these it might punish Offences; with those reward Virtue and Valour.

Without Rewards and Punishments, Governments would be in Confusion, for they are the Spirit that maintains and preserves them; without them they can't subsist, for the hopes of Reward engage Respect, and the fear of Punishment, Obedience, even against the natural desire of Liberty. Hence the Ancients represented Empire by a Whip, as may be seen in some Consular Coins; and 'twas a Prognostick of the Grandeur of *Augustus*, who dreaming that *Jupiter* offer'd him a Whip; he interpreted it to be the *Roman* Empire, which had been erected and maintain'd by Rewards and Punishments. Who would refrain from Vice if there were no Punishments? Who would expose themselves to Dangers, were there no Rewards? *Democritus* considering that the World could not be govern'd without them, call'd them *Two Gods of the World.* They are the Poles of the Orb of Civil Authority, the two Lights of a State, without which it would be over-

(4) *Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum, quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret.* Trog. l. 6. (5) *Aurum & argentum raro cuiquam nisi militi divisit, nefas esse dicens, ut dispensator publicus in delectationes suas & suorum converteret, id quod provinciales dedissent.* Lamp. in Vit. Alex.

whelm'd

whelm'd in foggy darkness: They are the Props of Princes Thrones (6). For this reason *Ezekiel* commanded King *Zedekiah* to lay down his Crown and other Regalia, as being unworthy of them, in that he could not distribute Rewards with Justice (7). The Prince in acknowledging Merits, acknowledges a Reward due, for they are Relatives; and if he gives not that, he is unjust. The importance of Rewards and Punishments was not well consider'd by the Legislators and Lawyers, who have been altogether upon Penalties and Punishments, without ever mentioning Rewards. That wise Legislator of the *Partidas* consider'd better of this; for that he might join one with the other, he intituled it particularly *of Rewards.*

Since therefore Rewards and Punishments are so necessary for a Prince, that without this Balance he can't walk steadily upon the Rope of Government, he ought well to consider the right use of them. For this reason the Lictors Rods were bound up; but the Crowns being made of Leaves, which soon fade, were wrought after the Victory; that while those were loos'd, and these were finish'd, some time might interfere between the Fault and the Punishment, between the Desert and the Reward, and that the Merit and Demerit might be duly consider'd. Rewards inconsiderately given, scarce merit thanks. He soon repents, who bestows them rashly; nor is Virtue safe from him, who punishes without Discretion. If the Punishment be extravagant, the People excuse the Fault, and blame the Severity. If Virtue and Vice be equally rewarded, the one is disgusted, the other becomes insolent. If in equality of Merit, one is rewarded above the other, it creates Envy and Ingratitude; for Envy and Gratitude for the same thing, can never go together; also the method of dispensing Rewards and Punishments ought to be consider'd; for Rewards ought not to be deferr'd till

(6) For the Throne is establish'd by righteousness, *Prov.* 16. 12.
(7) Remove the Diadem, and take off the Crown, &c. *Ezek.* 21. 26.

they

they grow despicable, as being despair'd of; nor Punishments till they seem not due, as being aton'd for by length of time, or as not being now exemplary to others, for as much as the Cause is wholly worn out of Memory. King *Alphonso* the Wise, one of your Highness's Progenitors, very judiciously admonish'd his Posterity, how they ought to behave themselves in Rewards and Punishments, saying, *That we ought to behave our selves with Moderation, as well in the Good we do, as in the Ill we punish; for that in both the one and the other we must have regard to the Circumstances of the Person, Time and Place, and that the World properly speaking is supported but by the Observation of these two things, Rewarding those that do well, and Punishing those that do otherwise.* Sometimes 'twill be convenient to defer the distribution of Rewards, that they may not seem due from Justice, and that those who expect them, flush'd with those hopes, may more vigorously perform their Duty; nor is there any Merchandise cheaper, than that which is bought with the hopes of Reward. 'Tis certain Men do more out of hopes than for Rewards already receiv'd. Whence it appears how prejudicial is Succession in Publick Offices and Rewards, which *Tiberius* consider'd when he oppos'd the Proposal of *Gallus*, that the Candidates should be nam'd every five Years, who should succeed in the Lieutenancies of Legions, and the Prætorship; for that others, for want of hopes, would flag in their Duty and Service (8). In which *Tiberius* did not only respect the publick Detriment, but also that he should hereby lose the Prerogative of distributing Rewards, in which he conceiv'd the strength of his Government consisted (9). And so by a plausible Oration he retain'd his Authority (10). Court Favourites, uncertain of the continuance of their Power,

(8) *Subverti leges, quæ sua spatia exercendæ Candidatorum industriæ, quærendisque haud potiundis honoribus statuerint.* Tac. 2. Ann.
(9) *Haud dubium erat, eam sententiam altius penetrare, & arcana imperii tentari.* Tac. 2. Ann. (10) *Atque ita favorabili in speciem oratione, vim imperii retinuit,* Ibid.

rarely

rarely remedy this inconvenience of future Succession, thereby to adjust their own Actions, to weaken the Prince's Power, and free themselves from the importunity of Petitioners.

A Prince being as it were the Heart of his State, as King *Alphonso* said, *The vital Spirits of Riches and Rewards, should by it be imparted to the other Members, even the remotest Parts, though they cannot injoy his Presence, should nevertheless participate of his Favours.* Princes are seldom mov'd by this consideration. They usually Reward those only who are about them, being overcome either by the importunity of Petitions, or by the flattery of their Courtiers, or through want of Resolution to refuse them. And so as Rivers only refresh the Grounds through which they run; so they gratify and reward those only who are near them, unmindful of the Pains and Perils their Foreign Ministers undergo to preserve their Authority, and to do that which they themselves cannot. All Favours are shared among Courtiers and Parasites; those Services are most valued, which smell of Civet and Pulville, not those which are smear'd with Blood and Dust; those which are seen, not those which are heard of at a distance; as well because flattery sooner strikes the Eyes than Ears, as because the Mind is tickled with the vain Glory of present Submissions and Acknowledgements. For these Reasons Court-Services are sooner rewarded than Desert, Ambition before Zeal, and Complaisance before Fatigue and Toil. A Splendor which pays it self.

He, who does Absent Services may perhaps be commended, not rewarded. He will be for a while fed with vain Hopes and Promises, but will at last die starv'd with Despair. The Remedy is coming sometimes to Court, for no Letters or Memorials are so perswasive as Presence. The Buckets of Pretention are not to be fill'd, unless they are dipp'd into the Court-waters. The Presence of Princes is as fertile as that of the Sun. All things flourish when that shines, but fade and wither in its absence. To him who stands under the Tree, the

the Fruit drops into his hand. Whence all covet to live at Court, and decline Foreign Employments, in which the Prince has most need of Ministers. This would be remedied, if the Bait of Rewards was thrown farther off, if they were bestow'd where deserv'd, not where they are begg'd; without need of Petitions or Importunities. King *Theodorick* comforted the absent, saying, That from his Court he observ'd their Actions, and discern'd their Merits (11). *Pliny* said of *Trajan*, that it was easier for his Eyes to forget the Persons of the absent, than for his Mind not to remember his Love towards them (12). Yet this advice for absent Ministers to repair sometimes to Court, ought not to be effected, by desiring to be dismist from their Offices, but still retaining them, by giving several Reasons to get leave of the Prince to be sometimes with him; for so they may obtain what they desire, still retaining that which if they should quit, might be confer'd upon another. Many either dissatisfied with their present Station, or Ambitious of greater, resign it, and afterwards repent, finding their Hopes and Expectations frustrated, for the Prince looks upon it as a Slighting and Contempt of his Favour. Let no man presume so much upon his own Person and Parts, as to think the Prince can't Live without him. For Princes never want Ministers, and being once Slighted, they often forget their Chiefest. This I speak to those who canvass for publick Employs, not those who knowing the Vanity of them, choose to live Solitarily and Retir'd. Only let them consider, that great Souls form'd for Business, don't always find in retirement that Ease and Tranquility of Mind, which they propose, and being once ingag'd therein, without being able to change their Resolutions, they live and die miserable.

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(11) *Abunde cognoscetur quisquis fama teste laudatur; quapropter longissime constitutum mentis nostræ oculus serenus inspexit & vidit meritum.* Cassid. lib. 9. cap. 22. (12) *Facilius quippe est, ut oculis ejus vultus absentis, quam animo charitas excidat.* Plin. in Paneg.

Modesty

Modeſty in receiving Rewards and Gratuities, is of great uſe, together with ſuch a prudent Carriage, as may make them appear Obligations to farther Services, not to drain the Prince's Liberality, for this obliges him yet more: As God, when *Solomon* ask'd for nothing but an underſtanding Heart, not only gave him that, but alſo Riches and Glory (13). They ought not to be demanded as a Debt, for Virtue is to it ſelf a fair and large Reward; and though ſome acknowledgement be due, yet does it depend upon the Prince's Favour. And all had rather it ſhould be receiv'd as their Bounty, not a juſt Debt to deſert. Whence Princes are more inclin'd to Reward liberally ſmall Services, but great ones more ſparingly, for they think they ſhall receive more acknowledgments from the one, than the other. Whence he who has receiv'd many favours, may expect to receive more, for Bounty once beſtow'd cauſes farther Benefits. For a Prince had rather another ſhould acknowledge himſelf his Debtor, than he his, the firſt being the more honourable. *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, uſed to ſay, *That he had more regard for one, who for ſmall Services had been well rewarded, than for others who for great Services had receiv'd but ſmall Reward.* The Emperor *Theodorick* owning this failure, confeſs'd, *That 'twas from Ambition that Rewards ſprouted out, without the leaſt care of him who planted them, and that it provoked him to give more to thoſe whom he had once began to favour* (14). This is viſible in Favourites, towards whom Princes Favour and Liberality ſeem a kind of Obſtinacy.

(13) And I have alſo given thee that which thou haſt not ask'd, both Riches and Honour; ſo that there ſhall not be any among the Kings like unto thee, in thy days, 1 *Kings* 3. 13. (14) *Amamus noſtra beneficia germinare, nec ſemel præſtat largitulis collatæ fallidium, magiſque nos provocant ad frequens præmium, qui initia noſtræ gratiæ ſuſcipere meruerunt; novis enim judicium impenditur, favor autem ſemel placitis exhibetur.* Caſ. lib. 2. Epiſt. 2.

EMBLEM XXIV.

THough (as we have ſaid before) Juſtice arm'd with the Laws, and Rewards, and Puniſhments, are the Pillars which ſupport the Structure of the State, yet will theſe Pillars be in the Air, unleſs founded upon the Baſis of Religion, which is the Bond of the Laws; for the Juriſdiction of Juſtice comprehends only external Acts, legitimately approv'd of; but don't extend to private and internal ones. It has Authority only over the Body, not the Mind; ſo that Wickedneſs would little heed Puniſhment, when it could privately commit Injuries, Adulteries, and Rapine; nay, he would make a jeſt of the Laws, were there not another inviſible one, menacing within. So neceſſary is this fear in a Government, that ſome Atheiſtical Perſons eſteem Religion but a meer Politick Invention; who without it

it would be content with his Poverty and present Condition? What Trust in Bonds and Covenants? What Integrity in the Administration of Goods? What Fidelity in Offices and Employments? What Security of Life? Few would be entic'd by Rewards, if they could obtain the same thing by private injustice; few would be charm'd with the Beauty of Virtue, if through hopes of a more lasting Garland than one of Palm, they did not confine themselves to the strict Rules of Continency. Vices would soon confound the Order of Government, without the principal end of Happiness, which consists in Virtue, and in this Foundation and Bulwark of Religion, which sustains and defends the Civil Power, if the People did not think that there was another Supream Tribunal to Judge the Thoughts and Imaginations, whose Rewards and Punishments will be Eternal. The hope and fear of this being born in the most barbarous and impious Sinners, do regulate and compose their Actions. *Caligula* scoff'd at, and ridiculed the Gods; yet, when it Thundered he was forc'd to own a Supream Hand, which had Power to punish him. This Hand all acknowledge, for there is no Heart which is not touch'd with that Divine Magnet. And as the Mariners Needle from a certain natural Sympathy, is in perpetual Motion, till it stops at the Light of that fix'd *North* Star, about which all the Cœlestial Orbs are turned, so we can't live quietly till we acknowledge and adore that increated *North*, in which is true rest, and from whence proceeds the Motion of all things. Who ought to observe this more than a Prince, who is the Pilot of the State, upon whose care it depends to bring the Ship safe into Port? Nor is it enough for him to seem to look at that, while he keeps his Eyes upon other dark and obscure ones, for so he would lose his Course, and run the Vessel upon Sands and Rocks, and so make a Wreck. The People will be divided in Opinions, and thence into Factions, from whence arise Plots and Seditions, and from them

changes in States and Empires *. More Princes are ruined by Diſſention in Religion than by Arms. For which reaſon the Sixth Council of *Toledo* prudently enacted †, That no Prince ſhould come to the Crown before he had firſt taken an Oath not to tolerate any one in his Realm who was not a Chriſtian. *Spain* could never be at quiet till it rejected the Errors of *Arius*, and wholly embrac'd the Catholick Religion, ſince which the People have liv'd ſo happily, that when King *Weterick* afterwards endeavour'd to introduce that Sect, he was kill'd in his very Palace; but notwithſtanding many like Examples, there are ſome who dare impiouſly teach Princes to diſſemble and counterfeit Religion. He who diſſembles it, does not believe it. And if this Diſſimulation be a politick Artifice to unite Peoples Minds, and to maintain the State, true Religion would better do it than falſe, for this is fading, that Eternal. Many Empires founded upon falſe Religions, proceeding from Ignorance, God has preſerv'd a long time, rewarding by that means their Morality, and blind Worſhip, and barbarous Sacrifices, with which they ſought him; not that they were acceptable to him, but for the religious Simplicity wherewith they were ſometimes offer'd. But has never preſerved thoſe Empires, which counterfeited Religion more through Malice and Artifice than Ignorance. St. *Iſidore*, at his Death, foretold the *Spaniards*, that if they ſtray'd from the True Religion they ſhould be ſubdu'd by their Enemies; but if they perſiſted in it, their Grandeur ſhould be rais'd above all Nations. Which was verified by the Yoak of the *Africans*, which began from the time that *Witiza* deny'd Obedience to the Pope, after which liberty of Worſhip, and licenciouſneſs of Vice diſturbed the Publick Peace, and ruined Military Diſcipline, which brought heavy Misfortunes upon the King himſelf, and his Sons, as well as upon the Kingdom; till being ſubdu'd and chaſtis'd, *Spain* acknow-

* Mar. Hiſt. of *Spain*. † Concil. Tolet. cap. 3.

ledg'd

ledg'd its Errors, and again found Heaven propitious in that little handful of Christians, with which *Pelagius* retir'd into a Cave in the Mountain *Ausena*, call'd *Cavalonga*, where the Arrows and Stones of the Moors were miraculously retorted upon themselves †. From that the Monarchy began to revive, and rose (though after a long time) to that greatness, which it at present enjoys, as a Reward of its constancy in the Catholick Religion.

Since then, Religion is the Soul of Governments, a Prince ought to use all possible care to preserve it; The first Spirit which *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, and other Founders, infus'd into them, was Religion (1), for that unites Mens minds more than necessity. The Emperors, *Tiberius* and *Adrian* prohibited all Foreign Religion, and were wholly intent upon the Preservation of their own: As also *Theodosius* and *Constantine*, who establish'd Laws and Punishments against those who revolted from the Catholick Faith. Their Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, never tolerated the Exercise of any other Religion. In which commendable was the Constancy of King *Philip* the Second, and his Successors, who could never be induc'd to compose the Seditions of the *Netherlands* by Toleration of Liberty of Conscience, though they might thereby have retain'd those Provinces, and sav'd those Immense Treasures which were expended in the War. They preferr'd the Honour and Glory of God to their own Ease and Tranquility; imitating *Flavius Jovianus*, who being proclaim'd Emperor by the Army, excus'd himself, saying, *That he was a Christian, and that 'twas not fit he should Command them who were not so, and would not Consent till all the Soldiers had promis'd to turn Christians.* Though he might inherit this pious Constancy from his Ancestors, since the Eighth Council of

† Mar. Hist. of *Spain*. (1) *Omnium primam rem ad multitudinem imperitam efficacissimam Deorum metum injiciendum ratus.* Liv.

Toledo mentions the same thing of King *Recesuinthus* (2). Of which Piety your Royal Highness's Father, *Philip* the Fourth of glorious Memory, is a signal Example to your Royal Highness. In the beginning of whose Reign it being argu'd in Council, whether the Truce should be continued with the *Dutch*; and some of his Counsellors urging that it was not Policy to begin War, or any change of Affairs, in the beginning of a Reign; he oppos'd them, saying, *That he would not have his Name branded with the Infamy of having maintain'd one hours Peace with the Enemies of God and his Crown*; and so immediately broke the Truce. For this ardent Zeal and Constancy in the Catholick Religion, King *Recaredus* merited the Name of Catholick, (as long before the Kings of *France* that of most Christian). In the Third Council of *Toledo*, and in that of *Barcelona*, which Title the Kings *Sisebutus* and *Ervigius* kept, which their Successors afterwards lost, till re-assum'd by King *Alphonso* the First, to distinguish him from Hereticks and Schismaticks.

Though 'tis a King's Duty to maintain Religion in his Realms, and to promote the Worship of God, as his Vicars in Temporal Affairs, that they may Govern to his Glory, and their Subjects Safety; yet they ought to know that 'tis not in them to decide Controversies in Religion and Divine Worship, for the care of this belongs directly to the Spiritual Head of the Church, to whom alone Christ has given this Authority, the Execution, Preservation, and Defence thereof only is committed to Kings, as that Head shall order and direct. The Priests sharply check'd King *Uzziah*, and God severely punish'd him because he offer'd Incense (3). 'Tis necessary for the Preservation of the Purity of

(2) *Ob hoc sui Regni apicem à Deo solidari præoptaret, si Catholicæ fidei per euntium turmas acquireret, indignum reputans Catholicæ fidei Principem sacrilegis imperare.* Concil. Tol. 8. cap. 11. (3) And they withstood *Uzziah* the King, and said unto him, it appertaineth not unto thee, *Uzziah*, to burn Incense unto the Lord, but to the Priests, 2 *Chron.* 26. 18.

Religion,

Religion, that it be the ſame in all the Parts of the Chriſtian World. True Worſhip would ſoon be loſt, if each Prince might accommodate it to his own Ends and Deſigns. In thoſe Provinces and Kingdoms where this has been attempted, there ſcarce remain any Tracts thereof, ſo that the poor diſtracted People are wholly ignorant of the True Religion. The Spiritualty and Temporalty are two diſtinct Juriſdictions; this is adorn'd by the Authority of the other, and that is maintain'd by the others Power. 'Tis an Heroick Obedience which ſubmits to the Vicar of him who diſpoſes of Crowns and Scepters. As arbitrary and free from the Laws as Princes pretend to be, they muſt ſtill pay Obedience to the Apoſtolick Decrees, and are oblig'd to give force to them, and ſee them ſtrictly obſerv'd in their Dominions; eſpecially when 'tis not only expedient for the Spiritual, but alſo the Temporal Good, that thoſe Holy Decrees be put in Execution, nor ſhould they ſuffer any one to violate them, to the damage and prejudice of their Subjects, and their Religion.

EMBLEM XXV.

THE Stork builds its Neſt upon the Church Steeple, and by the Sanctity of the Place makes its Succeſſion ſecure. The Prince who founds his Kingdom upon the Triangular ſtone of the Church, renders it ſtrong and laſting. The *Athenians* once conſulting the Oracle of *Delphi*, how they might defend themſelves againſt *Xerxes*, who with a vaſt Fleet of twelve Hundred Sail, was coming to fall on them, were anſwer'd, That if they could fence their City with a wooden Wall they ſhould get the better; *Themiſtocles* interpreted *Apollo*'s meaning to be, that all the Citizens ſhould go on Ship-board; which done they obtain'd a Victory over that prodigious Fleet. The ſame Succeſs will attend a Prince, who ſhall embark his Grandeur in the Ship of the Church; for if this by the Teſtimony of

of another Oracle not fabulous and uncertain, but infallible and divine, cannot be sunk, neither can that which is embark'd in it. For this reason your Highness's glorious Ancestors, were us'd to consecrate part of the Spoils they took in War from their Enemies, to God, as the Lord of Victories who fought for them, offering for his Worship very considerable Revenues and Possessions, whence innumerable Foundations and Endowments of Churches, Cathedrals, and Convents, took their rise; having built in *Spain* above Seventy thousand Churches. Of which *Samy*, the first King of *Arragon*, alone, built a Thousand, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, which his Munificence was amply rewarded by the many Conquests he made, and Victories he won, having fought Thirty three Battels, in all which he came off victorious. These pious Works were like Religious Colonies, render'd by their Spiritual Arms not less powerful than Military ones; for Artillery make not so great Breaches as Prayer. The Prayers of the *Israelites* for seven Days beat down the Walls of *Jericho* (1). Riches are therefore better reposited in Temples than Treasuries; not only against extream necessity, but that as by them Religion flourishes, the State may with it. The *Athenians* kept theirs in that of *Delphi*, as did many other Nations. What better Guardian than the Sovereign Arbitrator of Kingdoms? Our Hearts at least will be in the Churches, if our Treasures are there (2). Wherefore their Council is no less impious than imprudent, who under the slightest pretence of publick Necessity are for pillaging them. He is not worthy the Protection of Divine Providence, who diffident of God's Power, upon every accident has his Eye upon the Furniture of his House. When King *Ferdinand* the Holy, wanted Money to carry on the Siege of *Sevil*, and some advis'd him to

(1) And the People shouted with a great shout, that the Wall fell down flat, so that the People went up into the City, every Man strait before him, and they took the City, *Jos.* 6. 20. (2) For where your Treasure is, there will your Heart be also, *Mat.* 6. 21.

supply

ſupply the Deficiency of his Exchequer out of the Church-Treaſures. He made anſwer, I promiſe my ſelf more from the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Prieſts, than from their Riches; which Piety and Confidence, God abundantly recompenc'd the very next day by the Surrender of the City. Thoſe Kings, who have done otherwiſe, have left ſevere Examples of their Sacrilegious Preſumption. *Gunderick*, King of the *Vandals*, going to Plunder St. *Vincent*'s, fell down dead as he was entring it. The great Misfortunes of *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, were thought to be God's Judgments upon him, for having robb'd his Sacred Houſes. Queen *Uraca* died at the very Door of St *Iſidore*'s at *Leon*, the Treaſures of which ſhe had embeziled. *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, was ſhot through the Arm with an Arrow, for that he had defil'd his Hands with the Plunder of Churches. And though, in St. *Victorio*'s at *Rota*, he publickly confeſs'd his Crime, and with Tears and all imaginable Signs of Contrition, offering Reſtitution and Amendment, yet it pleas'd God to publiſh his Offence in his Puniſhment, as a warning to others. King *John* the Firſt, was routed and kill'd at the Battel of *Aliubanota*, for having made uſe of the Treaſures of the Church of *Guadaloupa*. Upon the Surrender of *Cajeta* to *Frederick*, King of *Naples*, the *French* loaded two Ships with the Plunder of the Churches, both which were loſt.

But in all theſe Caſes, extream neceſſity had not place; for then right Reaſon allows Princes for their Preſervation, to make uſe of ſuch Riches, as out of a pious Liberality themſelves have laid up in theſe Holy Places, provided it be with a Reſolution to reſtore them when the Proſperity of their Affairs ſhall put them in a Capacity. As their Catholick Majeſties, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* did, having obtain d a Grant from the Parliament of *Medina del Campo*, of the Church-Plate to defray Expences of War. And the Sacred Canons and Councils have preſcrib'd certain Caſes and Circumſtances of Neceſſity or Danger, wherein Eccleſiaſticks

are

are bound to assist the Publick with their Contributions; and certainly 'twould be inexcusable Avarice in them not to regard Common Necessities. They are the most noble and principal Part of a State; and if for them, or for Religion, others are oblig'd to expose their Lives, why not they their Riches? If the State maintains and keeps them, it may very justly expect a reciprocal Relief from them for its Conservation and Defence. The People would be discourag'd from paying Tyths, and other Church Duties, if in Common Calamities there were none to ease them of extraordinary Burthens; they will blame their own Piety, and their Zeal and Devotion, for any new Offerings, Donatives, and Legacies to the Church will slacken. 'Tis therefore highly reasonable that the Clergy in Cases of this Nature, aid the Publick with their Revenues, not only for that the danger or benefit equally respects all; but withal, least the Goods and Estates of the Laity be so oppress'd, that Tillage, and with it Tythes, and other pious Works must fail. In such cases, Church-Plate shews better in Bars in the Mint, than in Chalices and Cups in the Vestry.

This Obligation upon the State Ecclesiastical, is more strict in the more urgent necessities of the *Spanish* Kings; for almost all the Foundations and Endowments of Churches being the Effects of their pious Liberality, they are in Justice bound mutually to relieve their Patrons in necessity, and oblige them to continue their Munificence in better times. These, and many other Reasons, have prevail'd with the Apostolick See, to be so liberal to the Kings of *Spain*, in granting them the use of the Church goods, to maintain their Wars against the Infidels. *Gregory* the Seventh granted *Sancho Ramirez* King of *Arragon*, the Tythes and Revenues of all the Churches, either newly built or gain'd from the *Moors*, to dispose of as he pleas'd. The same Grant also Pope *Urban* made to *Peter* the First, King of *Arragon*, his Successors and Grandees of his Kingdom, excepting the Churches of Residence. *Innocent* the Third granted the

the Bull of the *Croisade* for the War of *Spain*, which was call'd the Holy War; which favour, Pope *Calixtus* afterwards in *Henry* the Fourth's time extended both to the living and the dead. *Gregory* the Tenth, gave King *Alphonsus* the Wise, the third Part of the Tythes which were design'd for Building: This began afterwards to be perpetuated in *John* the Second's Reign; and *Alexander* the Sixth extended it also to the Kingdom of *Granada*. *John* the Twenty Second, granted the Tythes of the Church Revenues, and the *Croisade* to King *Alphonsus* the Eleventh. *Urban* the Fifth, a third Part of the Benefices of *Castile* to *Peter* the Cruel. *Sixtus* the Fourth, consented to have the Clergy contribute at one time an hundred thousand Ducates for the War of *Granada*; which favour several other Popes continued. *Julius* the Second, granted *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, the third Part of the Revenue which belong'd to the Church-Building, and the Tythes of all other Ecclesiastical Incomes. These Subsidies ought not to be spent but in Necessities, and for the Publick Uses, to which they were design'd. This Queen *Isabella* so religiously observ'd, That seeing Ninety Millions rais'd by the Croisade, she immediately commanded they should be employ'd to the very Uses prescribed by the Apostolick Bulls. Those Favours will shine more, and produce better Fruit, when so expended. But Necessities and Danger usually confound all things, and easily wrest the Popes meaning to what was not intended.

EMBLEM XXVI.

IT was an impious Opinion, that of thoſe who impudently aſſerted the Heathens to have had more Courage than the Chriſtians; upon this ground, that their Superſtition ſtrengthned their Minds, and render'd them more fierce and manly by the diſmal ſight of ſo many bloody Victims, as they offer'd to the Gods in their Sacrifices; and held them only to be Men of Courage and Magnanimity, who got the better of other Nations rather by force than reaſon: Accuſing on the contrary the Inſtitution of our Religion for recommending Humility and Meekneſs; Virtue is good for nothing but to make Men mean ſpirited. What an impious and unreaſonable Opinion this! The ſpilling of Blood may indeed make the Mind more barbarous and cruel, more valiant it never can. Fortitude and Magnanimity enter not

not at the Eyes, but are born within the Breast; nor are those the most generous, who are most pleas'd with the Blood and Slaughter of Beasts, or who live on Man's Flesh. Our Religion does not contemn Magnanimity, but rather promotes it, not by proposing to us temporary and corruptible Rewards, as the *Pagan* Superstition does, but eternal ones never to have an end. And if a simple Crown of Lawrel, which begins to fade as soon as gathered, inspired so much Courage then, what won't now that everlasting one of Stars (1)? Is it that the Heathens have exposed themselves to greater Dangers than the Christians? No, for if at any time they assaulted a City, or forc'd a Camp, it was under Shields and Targets. Whereas now Christians must make their way through thick Showers of Bullets, and the Thunder and Lightning of Gunpowder. 'Tis a mistake to imagine Humility and Valour incompatible; they are rather so closely connected, that without the former this is impracticable; nor can true Valour be where there is not Humility, Patience, and in general all other Virtues. For he only is really Valiant that can subdue his Passions, and is free from all Perturbation of Mind; a Study the *Stoicks* have bestow'd much labour on, and after them the Christians with greater success. He makes but a very small progress in it, who suffers himself to be transported with Anger and Pride. This is truly Heroical to conquer ones Lusts and Appetites. The Mind where these Conflicts are, is none of the easiest Fields of Battel; he who has learnt thus much Submission, to bend the Knee to another, will upon occasion easily despise Danger, and with undaunted Resolution submit his Neck to the Ax. The Heathen Religion, 'tis true, has produced many great Commanders, such as were the *Cæsars*, *Scipios*, and abundance of others, but certainly the Christian has furnisht us with no less con-

(1) Now they do it to obtain a corruptible Crown, but we an incorruptible, 1 *Cor.* 9. 25.

siderable

ſiderable ones in the Perſons of the *Alphonſo*'s and *Ferdinands* of *Caſtile*, as well as other Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*. What Valour could poſſibly equal that of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth? What great Generals has Antiquity ever celebrated, which have not been equall'd, if not been ſurpaſs'd by *Gonzalez Ferdinand* of *Cordova*, *Fernan Cortez*, *Antony de Lieve*, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Peſcara*; *Alphonſo d'Avalos*, Marquiſs of *Guaſt*; *Alexander Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*; *Andrew d'Oria*, *Alphonſo d'Alb'ouquerque*, *Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alba*; the Marquiſſes of *Sancta Cruz*; the Earl of *Fuentes*, Marquiſs *Spinola*, *Lewis Faxardo*, and almoſt infinite others; as well *Spainards* as others, never ſufficiently to be commended by Fame. To whom may deſervedly be applied what St. *Paul* ſaid of thoſe Great Captains, *Gideon*, *Barak*, *Sampſon*, *Jephtha*, *David*, and *Samuel*, that by Faith they ſubdued Kingdoms; waxed valiant in Fight, turn'd to Flight the Armies of the *Aliens* (2.) If we will compare the Victories of the Heathens to thoſe of the Chriſtians, we ſhall find the latter to have been much the greater. In the Battel of *Navas* were kill'd Two hundred thouſand *Moors*, with the loſs only of Twenty five on our ſide; finding the Camp ſo covered with Spears and Darts, that though the Victors ſtaid there two Days, uſing no other Fewel but the Wood of them; they could not conſume them, even, though they endeavour'd it. There fell more in the Battel of *Salado*, with the loſs but of Twenty Chriſtians. And in that Naval Victory, which *Don John* of *Auſtria* obtain'd over the *Turks* at *Lepanto*, there were no leſs than an Hundred and eighty Gallies ſunk and taken: Which Victories Chriſtians attribute not to their own Valour, but to the True God whom they adore. An Heart confiding in God, as effectually ſtays an Enemy, as a Hand arm'd with a Sword, as *Judas Ma-*

(2) Heb. 11, 33, 34.

chabæus

chabæus found (3). 'Tis God who governs the Hearts, 'tis he that imparts Courage and Strength, that grants or denies Victories (4). He would be an Impostor, and could not be clear'd from the Imputation of Fraud, were he rather assisting to those who adore false Gods, whose Idolatrous Sacrifices all tend to procure their favour. But if he sometimes also permit them to be Victorious, 'tis not to be ascrib'd to their Devotion, but to other secret Causes of Divine Providence. In the Thirst which the *Roman* Army suffer'd in the War against the *Marcomanni*; God could not be appeas'd with the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Heathen Legions, but when the Tenth compos'd of Christians, at last implor'd his aid, he sent down plentiful Showers to them, but to the Enemy Thunder and Lightning, so that they obtain'd an easy Victory, whence it was afterwards call'd the Thundring Legion. If that Faith were still, it would still work the same effects; but whether through want of that, or for some other secret Ends, God does sometimes permit those to be triumph'd over, who pay him true Adoration; but then the Victory is not a Reward to the Conqueror, but a Chastisement to the Conquered. Let Princes therefore always hold in their Hands the Flag of the Cross, signified by that Sword which *Jeremiah* gave to *Judas Machabæus* to wound his Adversaries withal (5), and on their Arms the Buckler of Religion, and continually before their Eyes, that eternal Fire which went before the *Persian* Monarchs: An Emblem of that other incomprehensible Fire from which the Sun receives its Rays. This is the true Religion which the

(3) So that fighting with their Hands, and praying to God with their Hearts, they slew no less than Thirty and five thousand Men, 2 *Mach.* 15. 27. (4) Least thou say in thine Heart, my Power, and the might of my Hand hath gotten me this Victory. But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God; for it is he that hath given thee power to get wealth, *Deut.* 8. 17, 18. (5) Take this Holy Sword, a Gift from God, with which thou shalt wound the Adversaries, 2 *Mach.* 15. 16.

Soldiers

Soldiers ador'd, as oft as they proſtrated themſelves before the Emperour *Conſtantine*'s Banner: for when the ſhape of a Croſs in the Heavens made by the Sun's light, with this Inſcription, *Thou ſhalt Conquer under this Sign* *, ſeem'd to promiſe him the Victory over *Maxentius*, he commanded a Standard to be made in the ſame Form with that of the preſent Emblem, with the Letters *X* and *P*, Cyphers of Chriſt's Name over it, and the Letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, the Emblem of God, the Beginning and End of all things. This Standard the Emperors after him made uſe of, till *Julian* the Apoſtate's time †; and *Don John* of *Auſtria* had on all his Colours embroider'd a Croſs, with this Motto: *With theſe Arms I have conquer'd the* Turks, *and with the ſame I hope to overcome Hereticks* *: King *Alphonſus* the Great put the Words of *Conſtantine*'s Croſs on another ſort of Enſign, which he afterwards offer'd in the Church of *Oviedo:* And of thoſe I have thought fit to make uſe on, as well as *Conſtanſtine*'s Standard, to form this Emblem, and to imprint on Princes Minds, that Faith and Aſſurance, with which they ought to erect the Standard of Religion againſt their Enemies. At the Battel of *Navas*, a Perſon made way three times through the thickeſt of the Enemy with the Croſs of *Roderigo*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, though all the Darts and Arrows of the *Moors* were aim'd at it, and many ſtuck in the Lance. Angels are the Guards of this Banner; two Angels upon white Horſes, were ſeen to Fight in the Front of the Battel of *Simaneas*, when King *Ramiro* the Second, vanquiſh'd the *Moors*; and in that of *Clavigio*, in time of *Ramiro* the Firſt; and alſo in that of *Merida*, under King *Alphonſus* the Ninth, appear'd that Divine Light, the Son of Thunder, St. *Jago*, Patron of *Spain*, on a White Steed carrying Colours diſtinguiſh'd by a Red Croſs. No one ſhall be able to ſtand before you, (ſaid *Joſhua* upon his Death-

* *In hoc ſigno vinces.* Euſeb. l. 9. Hiſt. Sc. Ambr. Ep. 29. † Genebr. l. 4. Chron. Anno 1572. * Mar. Hiſt of *Spain.*

Bed) if you put your Hope and Confidence in God (6): Your Sword shall Conquer thousands, for he will fight for you (7). The Holy Scriptures are full of Instances of this Divine Assistance. God put the very Stars in array against the *Canaanites* (8). Against the *Amorites* he arm'd the Elements, and rain'd great Stones from Heaven (9). Nor did the faithful need any assistance against the *Madianites*, for the Lord set every Man's Sword against his Fellow (10). Thus, whoever is God's Enemy, brings Vengeance upon his own head.

(6) Josh. 23. 10. (7) Ibid. (8) They fought from Heaven, the Srars in their courses fought against *Sisera*. (9) The Lord cast down great Stones from Heaven upon them to *Azekah*, and they died, *Josh*. 10. 11. (10) Judg. 7. 22.

EMBLEM XXVII.

WHAT, neither Force, nor a close Siege of many Years could do against *Troy*, Fraud at length effected under pretence of Religion, the *Græcians* conveying their Arms into the City within the Body of a Wooden Horse, under pretext of a Vow to *Minerva*. Neither the clattering noise of the Weapons, nor the Advertency of the most prudent Citizens, nor the Consideration that it could not be brought into the City but by a Breach, nor that of its being to continue within the Walls a considerable time, were sufficient to open the Peoples Eyes, and to discover the Treachery: Of such Influence is Religion. This *Scipio Africanus*, *Sylla*, *Sertorius*, *Minos*, *Pisistratus*, *Lycurgus*, and many others, have advantageously made use of to authorize their Laws, and impose upon the People.

The *Phœnicians* coming into *Spain*, built, where *Medina Sidonia* now ſtands, a Temple in the Form of a Fortreſs dedicated to *Hercules*, ſaying, That they were ſo commanded in a Dream. The *Spaniards* believ'd that to be Devotion which was Stratagem, that to be Piety which was a Trick, whereby religiouſly to enſlave and plunder the People. By means of another Temple on the promontory *Dianea*, (now *Denia*) the Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Zante* conceal'd the Deſign they had of bringing *Spain* under their Subjection. King *Siſenand* having depos'd *Swinthila*, to ſecure to himſelf the Crown, call'd a Provincial Synod of about Seventy Biſhops, under Colour of making new Laws for regulating Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline which time had corrupted; whereas his chief and real Deſign was to get *Swinthila* depos'd, and himſelf inthron'd by a Decree of theſe Fathers, the better to ſatisfy the People. Which very Artifice *Ervigius* made uſe of to confirm his Election, and the Abdication of King *Wamba*. Malice well knows what effect Religion has on Mens minds, and therefore makes that the principal Inſtrument to execute its Deſigns, which eaſily impoſe upon the ſimple Vulgar, who, poor Souls, not being able to penetrate all their ends, believe their only tendency is to render God propitious, to make him proſper their Temporal Affairs here, and reward them Eternally hereafter. What nauſeous Deluſions have Nations ſwallow'd when gilt with Religion, miſerably abandoning themſelves to Superſtition? What ſervile and barbarous Cuſtom has not that introduc'd, to the prejudice of Liberty, Life, and Fortune? Let Princes therefore be upon their Guard, in theſe times particularly, when Policy puts on the Mask of Piety, and not eaſily admit thoſe Stalking-horſes of Religion, which have ruined not only Cities, but whole Countries and Kingdoms. For, if under that Title, Ambition and Avarice creep in, and the People be oppreſs'd, they will renounce God's eaſy Yoak, and will look upon this Natural and Divine Law of Religion to be nothing but a piece of State Policy; and that

Princes

Princes under that Veil conceal their Methods to keep Subjects in Allegiance, and strip them of their Fortunes. Let Princes therefore throughly examine, whether the Novelty introduc'd be really upon the account of Religion, or meerly a specious pretence to the prejudice of their Power and Authority, to the detriment of their Subjects, or the Publick Peace; which they may find out by the ends it proposes, by observing to what such Innovations tend, whether to Interest or Ambition, whether they conduce to the Spiritual Good or not; or if this can't be procur'd by other means less prejudicial. In such cases an Evil is with less danger prevented than afterwards remedied; and the only means to prevent it, is not to give place to these Pretexts and Abuses; however, if they be already introduc'd, they ought to be corrected with all the mildness imaginable, not rashly, nor with Violence or extream Rigour; especially, if the Case fall not under the Prince's Jurisdiction; but with extraordinary address, having due respect to the Persons, under whose Cognizance it falls (1), laying before them the truth of the thing, and the ill Consequences and Inconveniences of it. For if the Secular Prince attempt to do it by force, and those Abuses should be establish'd into a Custom among the People, they will interpret this Violence to be Impiety in the Prince, and rather obey the Priests than him: On the other side, if they see the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power disagree, they will throw off all Obedience, and emboldened by the declared Will of the Prince, they will make an Insurrection against Religion it self, and be insensibly induc'd to believe, the Inconveniencies of these Contentions extend even to the Substance of Religion, which will easily bring them to change their Opinions, and that too. And by this means, the Prince being engag'd in Civil Broils and Dissentions with the Clergy, and the People in new

(1) For the Priest's Lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his Mouth, *Malach.* 2. 7.

Opinions, all respect for things Sacred will cease, and Errors arise upon the Eclipse of that Divine Luminary which before enlighten'd and united their Minds; which is the scource of the Ruin of many Princes, and of the Revolutions of States (2). Great prudence is requisite to govern the People in such matters, for 'tis equally obvious for them to despise them, which is impious; and to be over credulous in them, which is Superstition; this last most frequently happens, in that their Ignorance is presently taken with appearances of Devotion, and new Opinions, before Reason has had time to examine them; wherefore 'tis very necessary gradually to remove from them all occasions of Ruin, those particularly which usually arise from frivolous Disputations about too subtle Points, such as very little, if at all promote Religion, not suffering them to be defended or printed; otherwise they will be divided into Factions, and every one's maintaining his own Opinions with as much Heat and Obstinacy, as if they were Matter of Faith, may occasion no less Disturbances, than even a difference of Religions, or a Toleration of them. It was an Apprehension of this made *Tiberius* forbid the Books of the Sibyls to be seen, whose Prophecies might cause Seditions (3). In the Acts of the Apostles we read, that the Books which contain'd idle Curiosities were burnt (4).

An appearance often miserably deludes the Common People, who blindly follow any Superstitious Devotions with a Submission wholly effeminate, which renders them Melancholy, Cowardly, and very Slaves to their own Imaginations; which debase their Spirits, and prompt them to idle away their time in Convents and Pilgrimages, where oft-times many Abuses and Vices are committed. This is an Infirmity of the Vul-

(2) *Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam superstitio.* Curtius. (3) *Censuit Asinius Gallus, ut libri Sibyllini adirentur, renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens.* Tac. 1. Ann. (4) Many of them also which us'd curious Arts, brought their Books together, and burnt them before all Men, *Acts* 19. 19.

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gar, and not a little prejudicial to the Truth of Religion, and the Publick Safety; and unless nipp'd in the Bud, creates great Inconveniencies and Dangers, being a kind of folly that under the appearance of Good does every thing hand over head, following new Notions of Religion, and deviliſh Inventions. Some Submiſſion is requiſite, but that without baſe and ſlaviſh Bigottry; ſuch I mean as has Virtue in eſteem, abhors Vice, and holds Labour and Obedience to be more agreeable to God and the Prince, than Convents and Pilgrimages, this Devotion being uſually celebrated with Banquets, Balls, and Plays; like that of the People of *Iſrael* at the Conſecration of the Molten Calf (5).

But if the People once begin to be too opinionative in Matters of Religion, and to introduce any Innovations in it, immediate Remedy muſt be apply'd, and the ill Seed be routed out before it take Root and ſpread farther, ſo as to grow into a Body too powerful for the Prince, againſt whom they may afterwards, if he refuſe to conform to their Opinion, contrive ſome pernicious Innovation in the Government (6). And though the Underſtanding be free, and without deſtroying its liberty can't be conſtrain'd to believe, and ſo it may ſeem to belong peculiarly to God Almighty to puniſh thoſe who have unworthy Sentiments of him (7); yet, would it be of very ill conſequence to commit the Deciſion of the ſublimeſt Myſteries of Faith to the blind and ignorant Mob: 'Tis therefore

(5) And they aroſe up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and burnt peace-offerings; and the People ſat down to eat, and to drink, and roſe up to play, *Exod.* 32. 6. (6) *Eos vero qui in divinis aliquid innovant, odio habe, & coerce, non Deorum ſolum causâ (quos tamen qui contemnit, nec aliud ſane magni fecerit) ſed quia nova quædam numina hi tales introducentes, multos impellunt ad mutationem rerum, unde Conjurationes, Seditiones, Conciliabula exiſtunt, res profectò minimè conducibiles Principatui.* Dion. (7) *Deorum injurias Diis curæ.* Tac. I. Ann.

infinitely requisite to oblige Subjects to think, as the Ancient *Germans* did, that there is more Sanctity and Reverence in believing than knowing things Divine (8). What monstrous Errors were a Kingdom obnoxious to, if each man were allow'd to be a Judge in Matters of Religion? Hence the *Romans* were so careful in Prohibiting the Exercise of any new Religion (9), and *Claudius* thought the Foreign Superstitions a sufficient Subject for complaint to the Senate (10). But if Malice have already got footing, and Punishment be too weak to resist the Multitude, 'tis necessary that Discretion perform the part of Fire and Sword: For obstinacy in Faults sometimes increases by an untimely Application of Remedies too violent; nor does Reason always surrender to Force. King *Ricaredus* by dexterously adapting himself to the times, now dissembling, now flattering, brought his Subjects to renounce *Arianism*, and to return to the Catholick Church.

Great Men have anciently made use of Superstition (as we have before intimated) to authorize their Laws, animate their People, and keep them in Subjection and Obedience; to this end they feigned Dreams and Divine Revelations, and pretended to have private Conference with the Gods; but although these Artifices extreamly influence the simple People, whose Superstitious Humour is easily affected with things that have an appearance Supernatural: 'Tis not however allowable for Princes to delude them with counterfeit Miracles, and a false shew of Religion. Of what use is the Shadow, where one may enjoy the Light it self? To what purpose those Divine imaginary Prodigies of Heaven, since it gives, as we see, so many real ones

(8) *Sanctius, ac reverentius visum, de aliis Deorum credere, quam scire.* Tac. de Mor. Germ. (9) *Neque nisi Romani Dei, nec quo alio more, quam parvo colerentur.* T. Liv. (10) *Quia externæ superstitiones valescant.* Tac. 11. Ann.

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to those who with a firm Faith and Assurance expect them from Divine Providence? How can an infinitely Just God give success to these Arts which seem to call in question his Care and Concern for things here below, that counterfeit his Omnipotence, and ascribe to him what he is not the Author of? What certainty in Religion can the People promise themselves, if they see it wrested to serve the particular Ends of Princes, and that 'tis nothing but a Veil with which they cover their Designs, and give Truth the lye? That Policy is certainly very unsafe, that is cloak'd with Fraud, very weak and tottering, that is supported by contrivance.

EMBLEM XXVIII.

PRudence is the Rule and Measure of Virtues, without that these degenerate into Vices. Wherefore as other Virtues have theirs in the Appetite, this has its residence in the Intellect, from thence presiding over them all. *Agatho* calls it a great Goddess. This it is which constitutes the three Forms of Government, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, and assigns each of them their Parts conformed to the Subjects Nature, having its Eyes always intent upon their Preservation as the principal end of Politicks. Prudence is the State's Anchor, the Prince's Compass. Where this Virtue fails, the very Soul of Government is wanting. *'Tis this*, (says King *Alphonsus*) *which makes us see things as they are, and judge what they may be, making us act therein decently, without Tumult and Precipitation.*

'Tis

'Tis the peculiar Virtue of Princes (1), and that which above all others renders a Man compleat, which makes Nature ſo ſparing in her Diſpenſations of it; having given many great Wit and Capacity, very few great Prudence; for defect of which, the more eminent Men are in Dignity, the more dangerous is their Government; for as much as they eaſily tranſgreſs the limits of Reaſon, and are ruined; beſides, that one of Command requires a clear Judgment to diſcern all things as they are in themſelves, to weigh and give each thing its juſt value. This nice Examination is of very great conſequence in Princes, and as Nature contributes much to it, ſo does Obſervation and Experience more.

The Virtue of Prudence conſiſts of ſeveral Parts reducible to theſe three Heads; the Memory of paſt, the Knowledge of preſent, and the Proſpect of future times. All theſe differences of time are repreſented in this Emblem, by a Serpent, the Emblem of Prudence, upon an Hour-Glaſs, which repreſents Time preſent, winding it ſelf about a Scepter, and viewing it ſelf in the two Glaſſes of paſt and future; with this Verſe of *Virgil*, tranſlated from *Homer*, including all three, for the Motto:

What are, what were, and what ſhall come to paſs.

which Prudence looking into regulates, and compoſes all its Actions.

Theſe three Times are the Mirror of Government, in which by obſerving the paſt as well as preſent Errors and Miſcarriages, it dreſſes and beautifies it ſelf by private and acquired Experience: Of the former I treat in another place. The acquir'd is either attain'd by Converſation or Hiſtory. Converſation is very beneficial, though ſomething more limited, being appre-

(1) *Nam recte diſponere, rectèque judicare, qui poteſt, is eſt Princeps & imperator.* Menand.

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hended with leſs difficulty, abundantly more ſatisfactory of all Doubts and Queſtions, and conſequently more improving. Hiſtory is a general Repreſentation of all the Ages of the World, and by the benefit of that the Memory recals the Time of our Anceſtors. The faults of thoſe who were, inſtruct them that now are. Wherefore 'tis neceſſary that the Prince ſearch for true Friends, ſuch as will relate with ſincerity things both paſt and preſent: And ſince they are, as *Alphonſus*, King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, us'd to ſay, Like Hiſtories that neither flatter, nor conceal, or diſſemble the Truth; let him admit them particularly into his Council, carefully obſerving the neglects and failings of his Predeceſſors; by what Tricks they have been put upon; the Court Artifices; the inteſtine and foreign Ills of Kingdoms; and examine whether he be not in danger of the ſame. Time is the beſt Maſter of Princes. Paſt Ages are a kind of Hoſpitals, where Policy Anatomizes the Carcaſſes of Monarchies and Commonwealths which once flouriſhed, thereby the better to cure the Ails of the preſent. They are the Sea-Charts, wherein by the Wrecks, or proſperous Navigations of others, Shores are diſcover'd. Seas ſounded, Sands and Rocks found, and all the Lines of Government marked out; yet, are not all Books good Counſellors; for ſome advance Knavery and Deceit, which becauſe more practiſed than truth, many have recourſe to (2). The moſt ſecure are thoſe dictated by Divine Wiſdom. Here a Prince hath for all manner of Accidents, a compleat Syſtem of Politicks, and ſafe Precepts to govern himſelf and others by (3). For this reaſon, the Kings of *Iſrael* were commanded to have always by them, the Book of *Deuteronomy*, and to read ſome part

(2) Who ſeek Wiſdom upon Earth, the Merchants of *Meirhan* and *Theman*, the Authors of Fables, and Searchers out of Underſtanding; none of theſe have known the way of Wiſdom, or remember her Paths, *Baruch* 3. *v.* 23. (3) All Scripture is given by Inſpiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Inſtruction in Righteouſneſs, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16.

of

of it every day (4). 'Tis God we hear, him we learn of as often as we turn over those Divine Oracles. The Emperor *Alexander Severus*, had always near him Persons well vers'd in History, to tell him what other Emperors had done in dubious Matters (5).

With this Study of History, your Royal Highness may securely enter the dangerous Sea of Government, having the experience of things past for a Pilot to Steer you in the Conduct of those present, both which your Highness ought to manage, so as to keep your Eyes fixt on Futurity, still looking forwards to prevent dangers, at least to render them less injurious (6). According to these Aspects of Times, your Highness's Prudence ought to judge of things to come, not by those of the Planets, which being few in number, and having their Motions stated and regular, cannot possibly (though there were some Virtue in them) foretel such variety of Events, as fortune produces, or free-will prepares. Nor are Speculation and Experience sufficient, whereupon to ground any certain knowledge of Causes so remote. Let your Highness therefore be pleas'd to cast your Eyes on the times past, from *Ferdinand* the Catholick, to *Philip* the Second, and comparing them with those that have pass'd from thence till now; consider whether *Spain* be now as well-peopled, as rich and plentiful as then; whether Arts and Arms flourish as much; whether Trade and Husbandry succeed as well; and if your Highness find it to have fail'd in any of these particulars, dissect the whole Body, search into its Arteries and Parts, the sound and entire as well as the distemper'd; as also into the Causes of those Infirmities: Consider with your self, whether they do not proceed from some of those so ordinary ones; from planting Colonies, want of Propagation,

(4) And he shall read therein all the days of his Life, *Deut.* 17. 19. (5) *Præficiebat rebus literatos, & maximè qui historiam norant, requirans quid in talibus causis, quales in disceptatione versabantur, veteres imperatores fecissent.* Lamp. (6) She knoweth things of old, and conjecteureth aright what is to come, *Wisd.* 8, 8.

multiplicity

multiplicity of Religious Orders, too many Feſtivals, Univerſities, and Studies, the Diſcovery of the *Indies*, Peace ill manag'd, War ſlightly undertaken, or negligently carried on, from the Caſhiering of Officers, the Rarity of Recompences, the Oppreſſion of Uſury, the Tranſportation of Money, the Diſproportion of the Coin, or whatever Cauſes of the like Nature. If your Highneſs ſhall diſcover the Fountain from whence the Evil proceeds, it will be no difficult matter to provide a Remedy againſt it; and from a competent knowledge of the paſt and preſent Times, your Highneſs will be enabled to make an eſtimate of that to come, for there is no new thing under the Sun; the thing that hath been, it is that which ſhall be; and that which is done, is that which ſhall be done (7). The Perſons are chang'd not the Scenes, Manners and Cuſtoms are always the ſame.

After the Converſation of Books, it will be very much for a Prince's Improvement to have that of learned Men, who are daily converſant with them, and will entertain his Ear with well digeſted Diſcourſe and Reaſonings, the reſult of long Premeditation. This gave occaſion to that uſual ſaying of *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, That a Kingdom either found a Prince prudent, or made him ſo. That is, the great School of Government, wherein Miniſters of the greateſt Learning and moſt eminent Experience, whether Domeſtick or Foreign, converſe with the Prince about Affairs. Here one is in conſtant Exerciſe, and has a particular knowledge almoſt of whatever is tranſacted in the World. This School being more eſpecially neceſſary for a Prince, teaches him, if not out of Duty, at leaſt for Learning's ſake to apply himſelf to Affairs, and ſtudy fully to underſtand, and go to the bottom of them, and not leave them to the Deciſion of his Councellors. For by an entire neglect and diſuſe of Buſineſs, the Mind becomes Savage, and

(7) Eccleſ. 1. 9.

conceives

conceives an Aversion for it, as an intolerable weight, and so chuses to leave all to the Care and Industry of others. And if their Opinion upon any Subject be afterwards told him, he is in the dark, not being able to discern whether they have determined well or ill; in which Confusion he must necessarily be ashamed of himself, seeing how like a dumb Idol he is, to whom Adoration is paid, while another renders the Oracles. For this reason, the Prophet *Zachary* calls that Prince an Idol, who like a Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, forgets his Duty (8). He is a Statue which represents, but does not exert Majesty. He has a Mouth and speaks not; Eyes and Ears, but neither sees nor hears (9). And being generally look'd upon to be an Idol of Adoration only, not Miracles, is universally despis'd as an unprofitable Burthen to the Earth (10). Nor will it be easy for him to retrieve his Credit; for Affairs out of which he might draw some Experience, will glide away like Waters that never return; and not knowing where the Web of Affairs begins, 'tis impossible he should finish it with success.

To avoid these and the like Inconveniences, it is absolutely requisite for the Prince at the beginning of his Reign to apply himself to the Administration of Publick Affairs, that by use he may gradually learn the Art of Government. For though they at first seem terrible and difficult, Ambition and the Glory which may be expected thence, will afterwards make them pleasant and delightful. Let not fear of doing amiss be any obstacle to him, for there's no Prudence so infallible but it may sometimes err. From Errors proceeds Experience, and from thence the best Maxims of Government. And if at any time he happens to be in one, let this thought comfort him, that 'tis sometimes

(8) Wo to the idle Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, *Zach.* 11. 17. (9) They have Mouths, but they speak not; Eyes have they, but they see not; Ears have they, but they hear not; Noses have they, but they smell not, *Psalm* 115. 5. (10) We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, 1 *Cor.* 8. 4.

less

leſs dangerous to miſcarry himſelf, than ſucceed by another; for this the People carp and cavil at, the former they eaſily bear with. A Prince's Obligation conſiſts only in being deſirous, and uſing his utmoſt endeavours to ſucceed, admitting Inſtruction and Counſel without Pride and Preſumption, that Mother of Error and Ignorance. Power is born with Princes, Wiſdom not: If they will but hear, they will know how to Govern. *Solomon* owning what a Child he was to judge God's People, prayed for a docile and underſtanding Heart (11), thinking that ſufficient to make him capable of ſucceſsfully diſcharging his Duty. A zealous and well-meaning Prince, God leads as 'twere by the Hand, leaſt he ſhould at any time make a falſe Step in the Government of his States.

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(11) Give therefore thy Servant an underſtanding heart to judge thy People, that I may diſcern between good and bad, 1 *Kings* 3. 9.

EMBLEM XXIX.

SOME Fiſhermen, once in the Iſland *Chios*, caſting their Nets into the Sea for Fiſh, drew out a *Tripos*, which was a kind of Veſſel made for the Service of the Altar, or (as others will have it) a round three legg'd Table, an admirable Work, and of an ineſtimable Value, not ſo much for the matter, though it was of Gold, as becauſe of the Artiſt *Vulcan*. This kindled Avarice in them, and all the other Fiſhers of that Iſland, who in vain often threw theirs with the ſame hopes. How often have the happy Succeſſes of one Prince deceiv'd himſelf and others, while they all endeavour to attain the ſame Fortune by the ſame Means? 'tis not ſo eaſy to follow another's Steps, or to go ones own over again, ſo as to tread always exactly in the ſame Tracks. A ſmall ſpace of time joyn'd with ſo great a Variety

of Accidents effaces the first, and whatsoever impressions are made afresh, are quite different, and consequently lead not to the same end. *Alexander* the Great has had many Followers and Imitators, who although nothing inferior to him in all Accomplishments, both of Body and Mind, yet could never arrive to so high a pitch of Glory and Success, at least have not met with that Applause. To be good is in our Power, but to appear so to others is not. Fortune sports with us even in Matters of Fame, nor does the same Success always correspond to the same Action. What befel *Saguntum*, did also happen to *Esteva*, yet of this there scarce remains any Memory. This little City, forsooth, deserv'd not so much Glory; for what is scarce taken notice of in small, in great ones is often highly extoll'd. The same thing is usual in Virtues; the same shall create one Prince a good, another an ill Character; this is the Times and Subjects. If the Nobility be unruly, the Commonalty dissolute and licentious; the Prince that tries to reduce them to Reason, will not escape the name of bad. Every Kingdom would have a Prince of its own Stamp. Whence tis, that though a Prince govern by the same good Methods, as have in anothers Government been applauded, yet shall he not be so well receiv'd, nor equally commended, except the Subjects of both be alike good.

Hence 'tis not without danger, for a Prince to be wholly guided by Examples, it being very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, that in any one Case there should be an equal Concurrence of all those very Circumstances which are in another. These Second Causes of the Cœlestial Orbs turn round continually, and form each Day new Aspects of Constellations, by which they produce their Effects, and the Changes of Things: And as the Stars once appearing never return exactly in the same manner again, so neither have they the like Operations upon things here below, and by the Variation of some Accidents, the Successes too are varied, in which Chance has sometimes more Efficacy

than

than Prudence. Others Examples in my Opinion deceive Princes no less than to follow none at all. Wherefore what has happened to others deserves Consideration, to establish a prudent Policy; not that all its Maxims should be squared by their Rule, and that exposed to the Hazard and Uncertainty of Casualties. Others Events are to be an Instruction not a Law (1). Those Examples alone can be imitated with any Assurance, that result from Causes and Reasons essentially good, and common to the Law of Nature, and that of Nations, for they are at all times the same. As also those of such Princes as have preserved themselves in Credit and Honour by Religion, Justice, and Clemency, and other Virtues and Moral Actions. Yet in these Cases too careful Attention is required, for Manners, and the Reputation of Virtues often change, nor is it new or unusual for a Prince to be ruined by the same, that at another time made him flourish. All these things therefore Prudence ought to consider, and not put too much Confidence in its self, but consult the various Accidents that every day happen, not looking upon things to come as certain, however discreet Judgment and Diligence seem to have searcht and provided against them. For Events are not always correspondent to their means, nor do they at all times depend upon the ordinary Connexion of Causes, where Humane Counsels usually take Effect, but on that superior Cause which directs all other. This makes our Thoughts and Suppositions so uncertain, and the hopes founded thereon so subject to Disappointment. No one was in all Mens Opinion farther from the Empire, than *Claudius*, yet Heaven had then design him for *Tiberius*'s Successor (2).

This is more common in the Election of Popes, wherein humane Industry is very often baffled. Di-

(1) *Plures aliorum eventis docentur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (2) *Quippe fama, spe, veneratione potius omnes destinabantur Imperio, quam quem futurum Principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.* Tac. 3. Ann.

vine Providence does not always use natural Means, at least sometimes produces by the same different Effects, drawing streight Lines by a crooked Rule, so what should have been advantageous, proves frequently prejudicial to the Prince. The same Pillar of Fire in the Wilderness gave Light to God's People, and filled the Enemies Camp with Darkness. The greatest Humane Prudence is oftentimes at a loss; where a Man expected Security, he sometimes finds Ruin, as it happened to *Viriatus*, who was betrayed and killed by those very Ambassadors he had sent to the Consul, *Servilius*. A Misfortune we have once sustained, we don't easily believe we shall suffer again; but on the contrary, presently persuade our selves Prosperity will continue, or at least return. This Confidence has been destructive to many in that it disarms Prudence. This World is a vast Sea of Events, tossed by various and unknown Causes. Let us not be too much elated, if by chance we bring our Nets to Shore full with the Success of our Wishes; nor on the other side, dejected if they prove empty; we ought always to cast them, and expect the Consequence with the same equality of Mind. 'Tis impossible for that Man to enjoy any Rest, who promising himself a prosperous Issue of his Design, sees a contrary Event, and is destitute of a Remedy for it. Misfortunes cannot surprize one that expects the worst, nor will disappointed Hopes expose him to Ridicule, as they did the *Persians* in the War against the *Athenians*, who had a great while before furnished themselves with Marble from *Paros* to inscribe the Victory on, which their hopes had long ago anticipated; but being afterwards overcome, the *Athenians* made use of that very Marble to erect to Revenge a Statue, an everlasting Monument of the *Persian* Folly. To presume to know things to come, is in a manner a Rebellion against God, and a foolish Contention with Divine Wisdom, which has indeed permitted Human Prudence to guess at, but not foretel things of this Nature, that in this uncertainty of Accidents it may acknowledge it self more subject

to,

to, and dependent on its Creator. This makes Policy so cautious and provident in its Resolutions, well knowing how short sighted the greatest Humane Wisdom is in Futurity, and how uncertain those Judgments are, which are grounded upon Presumption. If Princes could foresee future Contingences, their Councils would not so often miscarry. And this I take to be the Reason, that as soon as *Saul* was elected King, God infused into him the Spirit of Prophecy (z).

From what hath been said, may be gathered, that although Antiquity be venerable, and there be really something Royal in the ways she hath opened to Posterity, for Experience to pass more securely; yet 'tis visible many are ruined by time, so that they grow impassable; and consequently the Prince ought not to be so diffident of himself, so religiously to tread his Ancestors Steps, as not upon occasion to venture to go another way of his own. Innovations are not always dangerous; it is sometimes convenient to introduce them. Were there no Alterations, the World would never be perfected, which advances in Wisdom as it does in Age. The most ancient Customs were new. And what we now see without Example, will be hereafter a Precedent. What we now follow by Experience, was begun without it. Our Age also may leave many glorious Inventions for Posterity to imitate; nor is every thing the Ancients have done the best, no more than all the Moderns do now, will be approved by After-ages. Many Abuses have descended to us from our Ancestors, and many severe Savage Customs of the Ancients time has mitigated and changed for the better.

(z) 1 Sam. 10. 6.

EMBLEM XXX.

INgenious *Rome*, that Virtue and Valour might not want Trophies to Honour and Recompence Conquerors, excite Emulation in Posterity, and give Example to her other Citizens, invented the *Columnæ Rostratæ*, Pillars whereon were hung the Heads of such Ships, as returned Victorious after long Voyages, thus eternizing the Memory of Sea-fights; one of which Monuments was raised to the Consul *Duillius*, for the signal Victory he obtained over the *Carthaginians*; as also to *Marcus Æmilius* for another. This Trophy gave occasion to the present Emblem, wherein the strength and firmness of the Pillar represents Wisdom, and the Heads of the Ships that had run through so many Perils upon the Ocean, Experience, the Mother of Prudence and Support of that Wisdom. This has things

universal

universal and perpetual for its Object, that particular Actions. The one is acquired by Speculation and Study; the other (which is an Habit of the Mind) by the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and by Use and Exercise; both jointly make a perfect Prince, one alone is not sufficient. Whence it easily appears how dangerous the Government of those is, who are addicted only to the Contemplation of Sciences, and a Solitary Life, for such want generally Use and Practice, and so can profit little by their Actions, they being either rash, or mean and abject; especially if they be transported with Excess of Fear or Zeal. Their Discourses, indeed, and Writings (wherein more of a speculative than practical Genius reigns) may be serviceable to the Prince to awaken his Mind, and furnish him with Matter for Conversation, provided they be seasonably used, and with Experience. Physick prescribes Remedies for Diseases, which however the Physician never applies without first examining the Qualities of the Distemper, the Nature and Constitution of his Patient. Had *Hannibal* by this Consideration moderated his barbarous Arrogance, he had not took *Phormio* for a Fool, for teaching the Art of War, when himself was no Soldier; for although Speculation alone does by no means acquire Practice, it being extreamly difficult for the Hand to Copy accurately all that the Mind has drawn, or for whatever the Imagination has proposed to be accomplished to the Eyes Satisfaction; especially when War depends upon such a Variety of Accidents that Experience her self sometimes knows not what is to be done. Yet, for all this, *Phormio* might have given *Hannibal* (as great and experienced a General as he was) such Precepts as would have taught him to correct his treacherous and subtle Nature, to leave off his Cruelty to conquered Nations, and proud Carriage to such as had recourse to him for Protection. He undoubtedly had learnt to make a better Use of the Victory at *Cannæ*, to shun the De-

baucheries of *Capua*, and gain the Favour of *Antiochus*. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, used on some Occasions the Ministery of the Religious; but whether to manage or only prepare Affairs, I can't say; or if it was not, perhaps to spare the Expence of Ambassies, or prevent the Inconveniences usually arising from Disputes between the Nobility about Precedency. However Secrets are not securely intrusted to them, they depending more upon the Obedience of their immediate Superiors, than that of Princes; and if they accidentally die, into their Hands will fall all private Letters and Papers. Besides, for Neglect of Duty they are not punishable, and their Example is a Disturbance to Religious Tranquility, and the Practices of Policy infect their Candor and Simplicity. They are better Physicians for Spiritual than Temporal Distempers. Every Sphere has its peculiar Activity. I don't in the mean time deny that sometimes there are to be found among them, Persons who have had their Education in Courts, without that Narrowness of Soul which usually accompanies a monastick and retired Life, Wits so cultivated by Learning and Observation, that Affairs even of the greatest Consequence may be safely committed to them, especially such as respect the Publick Quiet, and the Good of Christendom; for Modesty in Conversation, well ordered Virtues, the Gravity of, and Deference paid to a Religious Habit, are no small Recommendations in Prince's Courts to gain Audience, and prepare Minds to receive Impressions.

Experiences drawn from others Misfortunes and Dangers, are indeed happy, but not so effectually persuasive as our own; the former we see or hear only; these we sensibly feel too. They are too deeply engraved, as I may say, on our Breasts to be soon effaced. Shipwrecks descried from Shoar, are something more affecting than anothers Relation of them; but he who has had the Fortune to escape them, hangs

hangs up his Rudder in the Temple of Experience for a perpetual Memorial of it. So that though a Prince will improve by both, yet his own private ones he ought moſt to regard, particularly obſerving this, that if they proceed from any fault, Self-love is too apt to excuſe them; and that Truth late or never comes to his Ears to undeceive him, being either ſtopped in the Palace-Gates by Malice, or concealed by Flattery, which makes Virtue not dare to unmask it for fear of bringing it ſelf into Danger, becauſe it belongs not to it, or at leaſt it ſees all would be to no purpoſe. And thus Princes ignorant of what neglect they have been guilty, how and where they have done amiſs in their Councils or Actions, cannot correct their Errors, nor by their Experience prove more cautious and prudent for the future. There ought to be no Fault committed, no Miſcarriage happen in the State, whereof there ſhould not be preſent faithful and ſincere Information given the Prince. There's no Senſation or Pain in any part of the Body, but immediately is carried to the Heart, as the Prince of Life, where the Soul has its chief Reſidence, and as that whoſe principal Intereſt it is to preſerve the other Members intire. How happy were it, if Kings well knew what Evils their Kingdoms laboured under, we ſhould not ſee them ſo inveterate. Whereas the only thing now aimed at in Courts, is to divert the Prince's Ears with Muſick, and ſuch like Entertainments, that he may not hear his Subjects Complaints, nor ſay with *Saul*, *What aileth the People that they weep* (1)? And ſo he is ignorant of their Neceſſities and Calamities, at leaſt knows them too late. Though the Adventure of *Jonas*, whom a great Fiſh had vomited up alive, was very freſh; though his Publick Cries made a Noiſe over the whole City of *Nineveh*,

(1) 1 Sam. 11. 5.

whoſe

whose Destruction he threatned within forty Days; yet was the King the last that heard of it, every Citizen, from the greatest to the least, having already mourned, and put on sackcloath (2). Who is there has the Courage to tell a Prince the whole Truth, or discover the Evils that menace him? The whole Army of *Bethulia* came to *Holofernes*'s Tent with great Cries, because the Sun was already risen, yet did not the Officers of the Bed-Chamber dare to awake him, nor call him by his Name (3), but made only a Noise with their Feet; till when the Evidence of the Danger obliged them to enter, the Enemy had already cut off his Head and hung it upon their Walls (4). Thus it generally happens, the Prince first discovers Faults, when there's either no Remedy for them, or at least it cannot be applied without great Difficulty. His Ministers perswade him all things succeed well, which makes him negligently lose all Experience, and the Instructions of Necessity, the best Mistress of Prudence. For although Prosperity proceed from Prudence, this does not from Prosperity. The principal Office of Prudence in Princes, or others concerned with them, is to teach them to know experimentally all Mens Humours, which are discernible from the Dress, the Looks, the Motions of the Eyes and Actions, and lastly from the Speech. Marks which God Almighty thought so necessary to Human Commerce, that he has wrote them visibly upon every one's Forehead (5). Without them neither the Prince would know how to Govern, nor Men of Affairs obtain their Ends. Mens Minds are as various as their Faces (6); and although Reason be in its self one and the same, the ways reasoning takes in the research of it, are widely different; and the

(2) Jon. 3. 5. (3) Judith 14.10. (4) Ibid. (5) Eccl. 19.26. (6) Eccl. 19. 27.

Delusions

Deluſions of the Imagination uſually are ſo great, that ſome Men appear as irrational as the very Brutes. Wherefore all are not to be treated with in the ſame Method, but this muſt be varied, ſuitably to the Perſon's Nature, as they change the Bit according to the Horſe's Mouth. Some Tempers are generous and exalted, with theſe Reputation and Honour are moſt prevailing: Others mean and abject, which are wholly lead by private Intereſt and Advantage. Some are bold and enterprizing, theſe are to be gently turned from the Precipice: Others ſlothful and timorous, which ſhould be ſo lead by Buſineſs, that they may ſee the Vanity of Danger. Some are naturally ſervile, theſe Threats and Fear of Puniſhment has more Influence on than Intreaties: Others arrogant, and are tamed by Authority, being by compliance ruined. One is full of Fire, and ſo quick at Buſineſs, that with the ſame Expedition he diſpatches it, he immediately repents; this Man 'tis hard giving Counſel to: Another is ſlow and irreſolute, whom time muſt teach at his own coſt. Some are ignorant and ſtupid, theſe are not to be convinced by ſubtle and refined Arguments, but palpable Demonſtrations. Others ſceptically diſpute every thing, and are guilty of an Exceſs of Subtilty, theſe muſt be abandoned to themſelves, to fly as Hawks till they be tired, then called to the Lure of Reaſon, and the Buſineſs in hand. Some refuſe all Mens Counſel, are wholly guided by their own; to theſe you are not to give any, but ſo point as it were to them, and give ſuch Hints in a large Diſcourſe upon the Matter, that they may of themſelves light on them, which will make them approved as their own Off-ſpring, and accordingly executed; others know neither how to act nor reſolve without Counſel, with ſuch as theſe all the Perſuaſion in the World is to no purpoſe, ſo the Buſineſs which ſhould have paſſed through their hands may be better tranſacted with their Counſellors.

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The ſame Variety which is viſible in Diſpoſitions, is found alſo in Affairs; ſome are eaſy at firſt, but afterwards increaſe as Rivers by the Affluence of Rivulets, as it were of divers Inconveniencies and Difficulties, theſe are overcome by Expedition in not giving time to their Increaſe. Others on the contrary, like the Winds riſe in Storms, but end calmly, which require Patience and Conſtancy. The Enterprize of ſome is full of Uncertainty and Danger, in that when one leaſt thinks the Depth of Difficulties appears, here one muſt proceed with Caution and Courage, with Care, and a Mind provided to encounter any Accident. Some require Secrecy, theſe are to be carried on by Mines, that the happy Succeſs may break out before one can perceive it: Others can't be obtained but at certain Times, in theſe you ought to have all the Means ready immediately to hoiſt Sail upon the firſt favourable Blaſt of Wind. Some take Root gradually, and demand Time to come to Maturity; here the Seed of Diligence is to be Sowed and the Fruit waited for: Others except they ſucceed preſently never do at all, which muſt be taken by Aſſault, by employing all Methods at once. Some are ſo delicate and brittle, that like Glaſſes they are with a Blaſt formed and broken, theſe are to be tenderly handled: the Difficulty of others is inhanced by being too much deſired and purſued, here the Arts of Lovers are uſeful, whoſe Paſſions are inflamed by Slight and Diſdain. In a word the Management of a few Affairs demands Precipitation; in more Force prevails; in many Patience, and in almoſt all Reaſon and Intereſt. Importunity has ſpoil'd abundance of Affairs, but it has alſo furthered many, as St. *Jerome* ſaid of the Woman of *Canaan* (7). Men are no leſs weary of refuſing than granting. Opportunity is the thing contributes moſt to the good

(7) *Quod precibus non potuit tædio impetravit.* D. Hieron.

Management

Management of Affairs; he who knows how to use this shall scarce ever Miscarry. The Husbandman that is well acquainted with the Nature of his Soil, and knows the proper Seed-time, may expect a plentiful Harvest. There's a time when all things are granted, another wherein all are denied, according as the Mind shall be disposed, in which you may easily see the Increase and Decrease of Business, for being lopped like Trees in a proper Month, they sprout out the more. Some Address in proposing and persuading by Honesty, Profit, and Ease; Prudence in the Choice of Means, and some other natural Endowments infinitely conduce to the Success of Affairs, provided those Gifts of Nature be accompanied with a discreet kind of Complaisance and natural Grace that captivates the Mind; for some Mens Looks and Behaviour are so disagreeable and ungenteel, that they even shew one how to refuse their Petitions; but although these Means joyned with good Judgment and Industry have a strange Effect on Business; yet too much Confidence ought not to be put in them, nor yet should they be despaired of. Light Affairs sometimes breed great Difficulties; and on the other side, the lightest Causes often obstruct the most weighty. The greatest Prudence is sometimes blind in a Matter as clear as the Sun; Divine Providence that has already long ago determined in his eternal Decree, what shall become of every thing, being thus pleased to sport with Humane Affairs.

From this Variety of Capacities and Affairs, appears of how much Concern it is to the Prince, to make Choice of Ministers fit to manage them, each Man being no more capable of all manner of Business, than every Instrument useful for all Works. Persons of a violent Temper, the Cowardly and Diffident, the Rough and Unpleasant in Conversation, who

who can never serve the times, nor adapt themselves to others Natures and Customs, rather spoil Affairs than compose them; are readier at making, than reconciling Enemies, fitter to be Informers than Mediators. Affairs require Persons of very different Qualities to Administer them. That Man is above all the most proper, who in his Air and Words discovers a Soul of Candor and Veracity, whose private Person procures him Love and Esteem; in whom Jealousy and Cunning are from Art not Nature, who can keep them in the most secret Place of his Breast when they require Concealment; who proposes with Sweetness, hears with Patience, replies with Force, dissembles with Discretion, urges with Attention; who obliges by Liberality, persuades by Reason, and convinces by Experience; who in a word designs prudently, and executes effectually. It was with these Ministers, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was able to succeed in all his Enterprizes. The good Choice of these is of no less Consequence, than the Conservation and Enlargement of any State, for as much as all depends upon their Administration; more Kingdoms having been destroyed by their Ignorance than by that of Princes. Let this therefore be your Highness's chiefest Care to examine diligently all the Qualities of your Subjects, and after having given them any Place, look now and then into their Actions, and not be presently taken with, and deluded by the Draught of their Memoirs. There being very few Ministers, who in them draw themselves to the Life? In Effect, who will be so candid, so much a Stranger to self-love, as to confess what good he has neglected to do, what Evil to prevent? It will be much if he with Sincerity relate what he has actually done; some using to write to the Prince not what they have done or said, but what they ought to do or say. They have thought of, and designed every thing before-

before-hand; they foreſaw, nay, and executed all Affairs enter their Cloſets like miſhapen Logs, but immediately come out again, as from ſome Statuaries Shop, exquiſite Figures; 'tis there they are varniſhed, gilded, and painted, to beautify them, and enhance their Value. There Judgments are form'd, and abundance of Preventions deviſ'd ever after the Succeſs; there they are more powerful than God himſelf; make the paſt Time preſent, and the preſent paſt, by changing the Date of their Actions, as they ſee convenient. They are Miniſters who tranſact Affairs in Imagination only; Men that court Applauſe, and ſteal Rewards by their falſe Letters: Whence proceed the greateſt Inconveniences in the World, in that the Prince's Privy Counſellors being directed by thoſe Intelligences and Advices, if they are falſe, the Orders and Reſolutions founded upon them will neceſſarily be ſo too. The Holy Scripture teaches us how Miniſters, and particularly Ambaſſadors are oblig'd punctually to execute their Commiſſions; for we ſee in that *Hazael* had from *Benhadad*, King of *Syria* to conſult the Prophet *Eliſha* about his Diſeaſe, he chang'd not one word, nor dared ſo much as to ſpeak in the Third Perſon (8).

Miniſters of extraordinary Experience are ſometimes dangerous, either for that the Prince puts too much Confidence in them, or becauſe biaſſed by Self-love, or preſuming upon their own Abilities, they ſeldom think thoroughly of Affairs, and born as 'twere to overcome the moſt violent Tempeſts, deſpiſe the ſmall Storms of Inconveniences and Difficulties, whereby they evidently expoſe themſelves to Danger. Thoſe are in ſome Caſes much ſafer, who as yet Novices in Navigation keep cloſe to the Shore.

(8) 2 Kings 8. 9.

Though

Though both together compoſe the beſt Counſels; in that the Experience of thoſe is qualified by the Timorouſneſs and Caution of theſe; in Debates between the Flegmatick and Cholerick, the Bold and Circumſpect, the Quick and Slow, there reſults a wholſome Compoſition of Opinions, as there does in Bodies from the contrariety of Humours.

EMBLEM XXXI.

A Pillar ſupports it ſelf, balanced by its own weight. If it once leans on either ſide, it preſently falls, and that the ſooner the heavier it is. Thus Empires ſtand, and are preſerv'd by their own Authority and Repute; when they begin to loſe that, they begin to fall; nor is any Earthly Power ſufficient to ſtrengthen and prop them (1). Let no one truſt too much to a ſtreight Pillar, when it inclines never ſo little, the weakeſt Hand promotes its Ruin; that very leaning I know not how inviting to puſh it; but when falling, the ſtrongeſt is unable to uphold it. One ſingle Action ſometimes overthrows the beſt eſtabliſh'd Reputa-

(1) *Nihil rerum mortalium tam inſtabile ac fluxum eſt, quam famæ potentiæ, non ſua vi nixa.* Tac. 13. Ann.

tion, which a great many can't erect again. For ſcarce any Stain can ſo thoroughly be waſhed out, but ſome ſign of it will remain, nor any Opinion in Mens Minds that can be entirely effaced. Dreſs the Infamy as carefully as poſſible, it will ſtill leave ſome Scars. Wherefore, if the Crown ſtand not fixed and firm upon this perpendicular Pillar of Reputation, it will ſoon fall to the Ground. *Alphonſo* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, by his Credit not only preſerved his own Kingdom, but conquered that of *Naples*. At the ſame time *John* the Second, King of *Caſtile*, for his mean Spirit was ſo far the Contempt of his Subjects, that he admitted what Laws they thought fit to impoſe. The Provinces which under *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, Princes of great Eſteem, were Firm and Loyal, rebell'd in the Reign of *Galba*, a Man ſlothful, and univerſally deſpiſed (2). Royal Blood and Large Dominions are inſufficient to maintain Reputation, where private Virtue and Magnanimity are wanting; as it is not the Frame of a Glaſs, but its Intrinſick Excellency makes it valuable, Regal Majeſty has not more Force than Reſpect, which uſually ariſes from Admiration and Fear, and from theſe Obedience and Subjection, without which the Prince's Dignity cannot long maintain it ſelf, being founded upon the Opinion of others; and the Royal Purple will be rather a Mark of Deriſion, than Eminence and Majeſty, as was viſible in *Henry* the Fourth. It is the Spirits and Native Heat that keep the Body upright; the Legs alone would not be a ſufficient Baſis. And what is Reputation, but a kind of fine Spirit kindled in all Mens Opinions, which raiſes and ſupports the Scepter. Let the Prince therefore take all poſſible care that his Actions may be ſuch as will nouriſh and foment theſe Spirits. The *Parthians* grounded their Peti-

(2) *Melius Divo Julio, Divoque Auguſto notos eorum animos Galbam, & infracta tributa, hoſtiles Spiritus induiſſe.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

tion

tion upon Reputation, when they asked *Tiberius* to send as of his own accord, one of *Phraates*'s Sons to *Rome* (3).

This Repute and Authority has yet greater Influence in War, where Fear is of more Efficacy than the Sword, and Opinion than Strength, whether of Mind or Body, and therefore to be taken no less Notice of than Force of Arms. This made *Suetonius Paulinus* very prudently advise *Otho* to endeavour always to keep the *Roman* Senate on his side, whose Authority could never be wholly Darkned, though it might be sometimes Eclipsed (4). This also made many Countries submit to it, and seek its Protection (5), in the Differences that were between those Great Generals, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, each his principal Aim was to Conquer rather the Reputation than Arms of his Rival; well knowing that Minds and Forces follow more the noise of Fame, than that of the Drum. King *Philip* the Second was eminently skilful in this Art of preserving Reputation; having by it from his Cabinet so managed the Reigns of both Worlds, that he always had them at Command.

Nay, even when the Ruin of States is apparent, 'tis better to suffer them, than ones Credit to be destroy'd, for without this 'tis impossible to re-establish them. For which Reason, though the Republick of *Venice* saw it self lost in that violent Storm of the League of *Cambray*, yet that most Prudent and Valiant Senate thought it better to shew their Constancy on that Occasion, than to betray any Cowardice by using dishonourable Means. Desire of Dominion makes Princes mean. For want of this

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(3) *Nomine tantum, & auctore opus, ut sponte Cæsaris, ut genus Arsacis, vipam apud Euphratis cerneretur.* Tac. 6. Ann. (4) *Nunquam obscura nomina, etsi aliquando obumbrentur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (5) *Erat grande momentum, in nomine Urbis, & prætextu senatus.* Tac. 1. Hist.

Consideration, *Otho* with stretch'd out Hands seem'd to adore the People, he embraced every one, and shewed all the servileness imaginable to gain them to his Party, and so procur'd the Empire by those means which declared him unworthy of it (6). Even in Indigence and Necessity it is not fit to use means violent and inglorious, or seek the Assistance of Foreigners; for both are dangerous, and neither seek to relieve want; nay, Reputation is the better Remedy for it. One Man is as rich in Opinion, as another in the abundance of hid Treasures. The Old *Romans* were undoubtedly perswaded so, when in several occasions of Adversity, the Provinces offering them Money and Corn, they return'd Thanks, but would not accept them. Two Legions having been cast away at Sea, to recruit the Loss, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, sent Money, Horses, and Arms; *Germanicus* commended their Affection, and accepted only of the Horses and Arms, but not the Money (7). In two other Presents made the *Roman* Senate, of Golden Cups of great Value, in time of extraordinary Necessity, the first time thanks were given the Ambassadors for their Care and Magnificence, and the Cup of least value accepted (8). The other, Thanks were return'd, but the Presents rejected (9).

The Authority and Reputation of a Prince proceeds from several Causes; some of which respect his Person, others his State. The former sort are either of Body or Mind: Of the Body, as if it be of a suitable Frame, and a Disposition capable of maintaining Majesty; though the natural Defects of

(6) *Nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare vulgum, jacere oscula, & omnia serviliter pro dominatione.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *Cæterum ad supplenda exercitus damna, certavere Gallia, Hispania, Italia, quod cuique promptum, arma, equos, aurum offerentes, quorum laudato studio Germanicus, armis modo & equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militem juvit.* Tac. 1. Ann. (8) *Legatis gratiæ actæ pro magnificentia curaque, Patera quæ minimi ponderis fuit accepta.* Liv. l. 22. (9) *Gratiæ actæ, aurum non acceptum.* Liv. 22.

Body

Body are often supplied by Virtues of Mind. *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, had no small Imperfections of Body; yet his great and generous Soul, his lively Wit, his Complaisance, and other Courtly Accomplishments made him admired by all. A grave and austere Carriage make him pass for a Prince, who without that would be but very contemptible; yet this Air ought to be temper'd with Courtesy and good Humour, that Authority may be supported without incurring Hatred, or the Character of Arrogant; a thing *Tacitus* commends in *Germanicus* (10). The Riches and Splendor of Apparel is another thing, procures Admiration and Authority: for the Vulgar are taken with these Outsides, and Mankind admits the Eyes no less than the Understanding into its Counsel. Whence *Alphonso* the Wise, very well said, *That Cloaths contribute much to make Men known for either Noble or Base; and the Ancient Sages oblig'd their Princes to Cloths of Gold, and Silk, and beset with Jewels, that they might be known at sight without inquiry.* When King *Ahasuerus* gave Audience, he wore Royal Apparel, and shone in Gold and precious Stones (11). It was on this account God commanded *Moses to make Holy Garments for Aaron, his Brother, for Glory and for Beauty* (12). And he accordingly made them of Purple, embroidered with Gold, and adorned with other things of great value (13), which his Successors wore after him; and at this day the Popes do, though with greater Prudence, and less Expence. And indeed, if his Holiness be an Arm of God upon the Earth; if the Voice of his Censures be like that of the Almighty's Thunder (14), 'tis but just (whatever Impiety cavils) that as God covers himself with Light (15), the Garment of Heaven, so she should be deck'd with Earthly

(10) *Visuque & auditu juxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem, & gravitatem summæ fortunæ retineret invidium & arrogantiam effugeret.* Tac. 2. Ann. (11) Hest. 15. 9. (12) Exod. 28. 2. (13) Ibid. (14) Job 40. 4. (15) Psalm 103. 2.

Pomp, and carried upon Mens Shoulders (16). The same has place in Princes, who are God's Vicegerents in Temporals (17).

Large and sumptuous Palaces magnificently furnish'd (18), a Noble and Eminent Family (19), Guards of Nations of approved Fidelity (20), the Splendor and Grandeur of a Court, and other Publick Ostentations do also set out a Prince's Power to the best advantage, and give an additional Majesty. Illustrious Titles of States Conquered or Hereditary, which are attributed to him, are also Manifestations of his Eminency. Thus, *Isaiah*, by divers Names and Titles declares the Majesty of the Supream Creator, and Prince of all things (21). By these therefore your Highness is to study to enhance the Lustre of your Royal Person, provided however they be not ascrib'd out of Levity or Flattery, but from an universal Applause founded upon Virtue and true Valour, such as were those of your Highness's Ancestors, *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonso* the Great, *Sancho* the Brave, *James* the Warlike, *Alphonso* the Noble, and many others.

The Excellency of Virtues, and in general all natural Perfections requisite in a good Governor, procure a Prince Esteem and Authority. One alone that shall shine in him, whether it respect Peace or War; abundantly supplies the defect of all others, as if he apply himself to Business, though not with absolute sufficiency; for to leave all to the Care of Ministers infinitely diminishes the Force of Majesty. This was *Sallust*'s Counsel to *Livia* (22). Any one Resolution the Prince shall have taken very opportunely without anothers Advice: One Resentment, and to have once shewn the Extent of his Power, though upon the slightest Occasion, make him fear'd and respected; as does Constancy of Mind in both Fortunes, for the

(16) Job 40. 5. (17) Psalm 81. 6. (18) Eccl. 2. 4. (19) Prov. 22. 29. (20) Job 25. 2. (21) Isaiah 9. 6. (22) *Neve Tiberius vim principatus resolveret, cuncta ad senatum vocando.* Tac. 1. Ann

People

People look upon it as supernatural, not to be puff'd up by Prosperity, or by Adversity dejected; they believe there is something more than Humane in such a Prince.

Equality in Actions is another thing that greatly advances a Prince's Character, it being a sign of a serene and prudent Judgment, if he dispence his Favours, or revenge Injuries out of Season, he will indeed be fear'd, but not esteem'd; as *Vitellius* experienc'd (23).

Farther to maintain Reputation, Prudence not to attempt what cannot be obtain'd, very much contributes. For so his Power will seem infinite, if the Prince engage in no War wherein he cannot Conquer, or demand nothing of his Subjects but what is just and feasible, not giving the least ground for Disobedience. To enterprize, and not accompliſh, is in a Prince inglorious; in Subjects rash.

Princes are valued at the same Rate they set upon themselves. For altho' Honour consists in the esteem of others; yet this is generally form'd out of a preconceiv'd Opinion of every one, which (at least if prudent) is greater or less, according as the Mind gathers strength from the Valour it finds in it self, or loses it, if without Merit. The greatest Souls are most aspiring (24); the Cowardly dare attempt nothing, judging themselves unworthy the least Honour. Nor is this always a virtuous Humility and Modesty in this sort of Men, but a baseness of Mind, which renders them deservedly contemptible to every one, while they pretend they aim at nothing higher, because they are sensible of their want of Merit. *Blæsus* almost seem'd unworthy the Empire, merely for refusing the offer of it (25). Unhappy is that State, whose Head thinks himself undeserving the Title of Prince, or who pre-

(23) *Vitellium subitis offensis, aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem contemnebant metuebantque.* Tac. 2. Hist. (24) *Optimus quisque mortalium altissima cupere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (25) *Adeo non Principatus appetens, ut parum effugeret ne dignus crederetur.* Tac. 3. Hist.

sumes he Merits more; the first is meanness of Spirit; this latter is accounted Tyranny.

In these Endowments of the Mind, Chance also has place; for a Prince happens often, even with them to be despised, when Prudence is unhappy, or Events answer not Designs. Some Governments, good in themselves, are notwithstanding so unfortunate, that nothing succeeds under them; which is not always the Fault of Humane Providence, but the Divine so ordains, when the particular Ends of this Inferior Government, agree not with those that Superior and Universal one proposes.

This I add withal, that all these good Qualities of Mind and Body, are not sufficient to maintain the Prince's Reputation, if his Family be dissolute; it is on that depends all his Authority, nor is any thing more difficult, than a regular Management of a Family. It usually seems easier to Govern a whole Country than one House; either because a Prince intent on greater things is negligent of this, or Self-love is an Obstacle, or for want of Courage, or out of a natural Slothfulness, or at least, because his Attendants so blind his Eyes, that his Judgment can't apply Remedies. It was none of the least Commendations of *Agricola*, that he had curb'd his own Family, never suffering his Domesticks to intermeddle with Publick Affairs (26). *Galba* was a good Emperor, but an ill Master of his Palace, no less Vices reigning there than in that of *Nero* (27). *Tiberius*, among other things, was commended for having modest Servants. No Government can be well instituted, where Courtiers Command, and Rob, or Prostitute its Authority by their Pride and Vices (28). If they are good, they make the Prince the same; if wicked, he though really otherwise, will appear so

(26) *Primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam Provinciam regere; nihil per libertos, servosque publicæ rei.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (27) *Jam afferebant cuncta venalia præpotentes liberti servorum manus subitis avidæ tanquam apud senem festinantes.* Tac. 1. Hist. (28) *Modesta servitia.* Tac. 4. Ann.

too.

too. From them the Prince's Actions have their value, on them depends his good or ill Character; in as much as others Virtues and Vices are wont to be imputed to him. If his Domesticks are prudent, they conceal his Faults; nay, as much as possible vindicate every Action of his, and by extolling, render them more illustrious; they relate them with a Grace that challenges Admiration. Whatever comes from the Prince into Publick, is great in the Peoples Eyes. Princes in their Palaces are like other Men, but Respect makes them imagined greater, and their Retirement from common Conversation covers their Sloth and Weakness: Whereas, if their Servants are guilty of Imprudence or Infidelity, the People by them, as through Chinks discover it, and quit that Veneration they before had for them.

The Prince's Reputation redounds from that of the State, if this be provided with good Laws and Magistrates; if Justice be observ'd, and one Religion maintain'd therein; if it pay due Respect and Obedience to Majesty; if Care be taken of Corn and Plenty, if Arts and Arms flourish, and one may in all things see a constant Order and Harmony proceeding from the Prince's Hands; and lastly, if the States Happiness depends upon the Prince himself: For if that can be injoy'd without this, they will soon despise him. The Labourers in *Egypt* regard not the Skies (29), for the *Nile* by its Inundations watering and making their Land fertile, they have no need of Clouds.

(29) *Aratores in Ægypto Cœlum non suspiciunt.* Plin.

EMBLEM XXXII.

THE Oyſter conceives by the Dew of Heaven, and in its pureſt Womb, the Pearl, that moſt beautiful Embryo is born. No one would imagine its exquiſite Delicacy, to ſee ſo courſe and unpoliſh'd an outſide. It is thus, the Senſes are uſually deceiv'd in their Cenſure of Exterior Actions, when they judge only by the outward appearance of things, without ſearching the inſide. Truth depends not upon Opinion: Let the Prince deſpiſe that, if he be ſenſible he act agreeable to Reaſon. He will never dare enterprize any thing difficult or extraordinary, if Fear prompts him to conſult the Sentiments of the Mob. In himſelf he ſhould look for himſelf, not in others. The Art of Government ſuffers not it ſelf to be diſturb'd by thoſe thin Shadows of Reputation. The King has the greateſt,

who

who knows perfectly how to manage Affairs both of Peace and War. The Honour of Subjects the least thing blemishes, whereas that of Kings is inseparable from the Publick Good; this continuing, that increases, failing, it perishes. Besides, Government would be too dangerous, had it no better Foundation than the Laws of Reputation, instituted by the giddy Rabble. Contempt of such is Courage and Steddiness in a Prince, whose Sovereign Law is the Peoples Safety. *Tiberius* heretofore gloried in having shewn himself fearless of Affronts and Scandal for the Publick Benefit (1). A great and lively Soul is nothing affraid of the uncertain Rumours of the Multitude and Common Fame. He who despises this imaginary, will thereby obtain real and solid Glory. This *Fabius Maximus* well knew, when he preferr'd the Publick Safety before the Clamours and Complaints of the People, accusing his Delays; as did also the Great Captain in the Captivity of Duke *Valentin*, who, though he had surrendered, and intrusted himself to his safe Conduct; yet for some fresh Plots he was inform'd he had laid against his Catholick Majesty, kept him Prisoner, thinking the Dangers his Liberty might cause more to be respected, than the Aspersions were thrown upon him for the Breach of his Parole; from which, at that time, it seem'd by no means proper for him publickly to clear himself. King *Sancho* the Brave, was a Prince renown'd and warlike, yet Deaf to the Calumnies of his Subjects, he declin'd the Battel of *Xeres* †. 'Tis better for a Prince to be feared by his Enemies as Prudent, than as Rash and Precipitous.

My Design by this Discourse is not to make the Prince a very Slave to the Commonwealth, so that for any Reason, or upon the least appearance of its Interest, he should break his Word, or run Counter to all Treaties and Agreements: For such a Violation can neither be of any advantage to him, nor his State, but

(1) *Offensionem pro utilitate publica non pavidum.* Tac. 4. Ann.
† Mar. Hist. Hisp.

will

will be rather the Ruin of both; what is diſhoneſt being never long ſecure: A remarkable Inſtance of which we have in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, which has been ſo often embroiled, toſs'd with ſo many Storms of Calamities and eminent Miſeries, becauſe *Peter* the Fourth, as well in times of Peace as War, had more regard to Intereſt, than Credit and Renown. Intereſt and Honour ſhould walk hand in hand, and the ſame pace; nor can I be reconciled to this Opinion, *That nothing is glorious but what is ſafe, and that whatever is done to maintain Dominion is honourable* (2). For what is baſe, can never be a good means to preſerve it; nor if it were, will it be therefore the more honourable or excuſable. My Deſign is only to raiſe the Prince's Mind above the Vulgar Opinion, and arm him with Conſtancy to withſtand the vain Murmurs of the Multitude; that he may know how to temporize, to diſſemble Injuries, to lay aſide Kingly Gravity, to deſpiſe empty Fame, having his Eyes fix'd upon that which is true and well-grounded. In a word, to take Counſel from the time and neceſſity, if the Conſervation of his State require it, and not ſuffer himſelf to be deluded with vain Shadows of Honour, eſteeming that more than the Publick Good. A Fault blam'd in King *Henry* the Fourth, who refus'd to take their Advice, who perſwaded him to apprehend *John Pachico*, Marquiſs of *Villena*, the Author of the Troubles and Commotions among the Grandees of the Kingdom: Saying he had made him a promiſe of a ſafe Paſſage to *Madrid*, which he ought not to violate. A frivolous Excuſe, to prefer an idle Proof of Faith and Clemency to his own Life, and the Publick Safety, eſpecially towards one, who would abuſe this his Favour to Plot againſt his Royal Perſon, which was the ſource of great Calamities to the King, and his whole Kingdom. *Tiberius* was not at all moved, that ſome blamed him for making ſo long a ſtay at the

(2) *Nihil glorioſum niſi tutum, & omnia retinendæ dominationis honeſta.* Salluſt.

Iſle

Iſle of *Caprea*, and neither went to aid the *Gauls*, of whom a great part were already loſt; nor to appeaſe the Legions in *Germany* (3). Prudent Conſtancy hears, but does not much regard the Sentiments of the ignorant Multitude; knowing if things ſucceed well, Murmur will afterwards turn to greater Glory, and ſenſibly vaniſh of it ſelf. The Army diſtruſted *Saul*'s Election, and in Deriſion ſaid, *How ſhall this Man ſave us* (4)? *Saul* however took no notice of thoſe Words, but made as if he did not hear them, (nor indeed ſhould Princes hear every thing) and the Soldiers, condemning afterwards their Crime, recanted, nay, and made diligent ſearch for the Author of that Abuſe to put him to Death (5). It had not been prudent in *Saul* to expoſe his Election, by diſcovering his knowledge of the Peoples Diſſatisfaction. What Levity were it in a Traveller to be ſtopp'd by the importunate Noiſe of every Graſshopper? To be guided in ones Reſolutions by the prating Mob were folly (6); to fear them, and revoke what has been once reſolved, baſe and infamous. Scarce any Council would be ſecure, did it depend upon the Multitude, who are incapable of penetrating all the Motives upon which the Prince Acts, nor is it fit to make them publick; for that were to give them the Authority of the Scepter. All the Peoples Power is included in the Perſon of the Prince. It is his part to Act, theirs to Obey, with a firm Perſwaſion of the Equity and Reaſonableneſs of his Commands. *If every one had liberty to ask Reaſons of what is injoyned, there would be an end of Obedience and Empire* (7). 'Tis as neceſſary for a Subject to be ignorant of theſe things, as to know others. *The Sovereign Juriſdiction of things God has given to Princes, to Subjects is left the Glory of Obedience.* The only thing required of a Prince, is to

(3) *Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque vultu mutat, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (4) 1 Sam. 10. 27. (5) 1 Sam. 11. 12. (6) *Non ex rumore ſtatuendum.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Si ubi jubeantur, quærere ſingulis liceat; pereunte obſequio, etiam imperium intercidit.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

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acquit himſelf of his Duty in his Reſolutions and Decrees; if the Succeſs prove not anſwerable to his deſire, he ought not to be diſcouraged; for it is ſufficient that he has done nothing imprudently; the very beſt Counſel is weak and liable to abundance of Accidents. The greater a Monarchy is, the more expoſed it is to the unhappy Caſualties, which Chance brings with it, or Humane Underſtanding is unable to foreſee and prevent. Groſs Bodies uſually labour under great Diſtempers. Did not the Prince proſecute Affairs notwithſtanding all Obloquy and Detraction, with Courage and Conſtancy, he would lead but an unhappy Life. If he at any time chance to err, Courage is neceſſary, leaſt he be daſh'd, and become for the future ſlow and irreſolute. That Prince, who upon no grounds ſuſpects all he does will be diſapproved of, contracts too much the Limits of his Power, and ſubjects himſelf to a thouſand Terrors of Imagination, which generally ariſe from ſome private ſuperſtitious Perſwaſion, or Exceſs of Melancholy. Theſe Inconveniences *David* ſeems to have acknowledged, when he prayed God to take away the Reproach which he fear'd (8). Let the Prince therefore arm himſelf with Conſtancy to reſiſt any Events, and the Opinions of the Vulgar, and ſhew his Valour in the Defence of the true and real Reputation of his Perſon and Arms, ſeeing the loſs or ſtain of this brings the whole Empire into danger. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, very well underſtood this, when he adviſed his Father, *John* the Second, King of *Arragon*, to adapt himſelf to the Times and Neceſſity, and endeavour to ſecure his Crown by gaining the Hearts of the Marquiſs of *Villena*, and *Alphonſo Carillo*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo* †. He did indeed all honourable means to effect it; but could never be oblig'd baſely to bend his Regal Authority to the Fury and Violence of his Subjects, thinking there to be more Danger in this, than Advantage in gaining their Affe-

(8) Pſalm 118. 39. † Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

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ctions. Time is the beſt Maſter of theſe Arts, and ſuch a one may come as will make even mean Actions Heroick, and impute even baſe and ſervile Submiſſion to Fortitude. 'Tis an honourable and lawful End enobles them. *Tacitus* accuſes *Vitellius for being* Nero's *Aſſociate in his Debaucheries without any Neceſſity, which had made it very excuſable, but out of meer Luxury and Laſciviouſneſs* (9). To ſubmit to Neceſſity, requires no leſs Reſolution than to overcome it; and what is ſometimes thought Baſeneſs, is a deſire of Honour, as when to prevent the loſs of this, or at leaſt to preſerve it, Injuries are put up for a time. He that immediately runs to Revenge, ſuffers himſelf to be led more by Paſſion than Honour. Anger, 'tis true, has Satisfaction, but the Ignominy becomes more notorious and publick. How oft has Bloodſhed been a kind of Rubrick inſcribed with Injuries? How often have we ſeen in the Offenders gaſhed Face, the offended Perſon's Infamy written in Scars, as in ſo many Letters? Honour has been more frequently loſt by Revenge than Diſſimulation; this brings Oblivion, that Remembrance; and we more value a Perſon that has prudently taken an Affront, than one who has raſhly reveng'd one. He, who makes a true and prudent Eſtimate of the price of his Honour, weighs it againſt Revenge, which the former with the Addition of a Grain of publick Eſteem, out-weighs by much.

Although it is my Advice, that the Prince value not popular Diſcourſe; this, however, I would have limited to the Caſes mentioned, that is, when it is compenſated by the Publick Good, or obſtructs the Execution of any great Deſigns, which the People don't comprehend, at leaſt not well underſtand: For the Succeſs and Honour of the thing recovers afterwards the loſt Reputation with Intereſt. It will in the mean time be Prudence in the Prince at all times, as much as poſſible,

(9) *Sectari cantantem ſolitus, non neceſſitate, qua honeſtiſſimus quiſque, ſed in Luxu & ſagina mancipatus emptuſque.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

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to conform his Actions to the Inclinations of the People; their Approbation working almoſt the ſame Effect with real Glory; they both conſiſt in Men's Imagination, and the popular Voice, though falſe, ſometimes gains ſo much Credit, that neither Time, nor any contrary Action can ever after efface it.

EMBLEM XXXIII.

WHAT an entire Glaſs repreſents, the ſame when broken, each part of it exhibits. Thus the Lion views himſelf in both Pieces of that of the preſent Emblem, that Symbol of Fortitude and generous Conſtancy, which a Prince in all Accidents ought to maintain: In as much as he is a Publick Mirror, wherein the whole World views it ſelf, as King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe has

has well obſerved, ſpeaking of Kings Actions, and how they ought to be regulated. Whether therefore Succeſs preſerve, or Misfortunes break him, he ſhould ever appear with one Countenance; which indeed in Proſperity is of ſome difficulty, conſidering how apt the Paſſions are to break forth of themſelves, and that Reaſon vaniſhes with Glory. However, a truly noble Mind ſuffers not it ſelf to be tranſported, even, by the higheſt Happineſs, as one might ſee in *Veſpaſian*, who though he was by the unanimous Conſent of all ſaluted Emperor, was yet neither Proud nor Arrogant (1), nor could the Alteration of Affairs work any in him. That Man, who with his Fortune changes his Mind, confeſſes he did not deſerve it (2).

This modeſt Aſſurance was eminent too in *Piſo*, who when adopted by *Galba*, look'd ſo ſerene and unconcern'd, as if it had been in his Power to be Emperor, and not depending upon the Will of another (3). Valour alſo is wont to be endanger'd by adverſe Accidents, in that they generally find Men unprepared, there being ſcarce one who ſeriouſly thinks of all the Calamities incident to him. Which makes them ſurpriſe many unawares, and is the reaſon the Mind is then in ſo much Confuſion, which proceeds either from exceſſive Dotage on thoſe Happineſſes it falls ſhort of, or from fear of loſs of Life; the deſire of prolonging which is ingrafted in every Man's Nature. Let others harbour thoſe Paſſions, yet in a Prince's Breaſt they ought never to be entertain'd; whoſe Duty 'tis to Govern equally in both Fortunes, and to keep always a pleaſant compoſed Countenance and undaunted Speech. Thus *Otho* appear'd to his Friends, even after the loſs of his Empire, endeavouring to ſtop their unreaſonable

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(1) *In ipſo nihil tumidum, arrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (2) *Frons privata manet, non ſe meruiſſe fatetur,*
Qui creviſſe putat. Claud.
(3) *Nullum turbati, aut exultantis animi motum prodidiſſe, ſermo erga patrem, Imperatoremque reverens; de ſe moderatus, nihil in cultu habituque mutatum, quaſi imperare poſſet magis quam vellet.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

Tears (4). In that bloody Fight at *Navas* of *Toulouze*, King *Alphonſo* the Ninth, continued in the Heat of the Engagement with the ſame Calmneſs of Mind and Looks. No Accident was ever able to diſcloſe the Paſſion of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick. Being once ſtruck by a mad Fellow of *Barcelona*, he ſeem'd to be nothing diſordered, only gave Command he ſhould be ſeized. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, at the Siege of *Ingolſtadt*, changed neither his Looks nor Station, though the continual Fire of the Enemies Guns had tore his Tent in Pieces, and cut off ſome by his ſide. With no leſs Conſtancy the King of *Hungary*, (now the moſt Auguſt Emperor) and his Highneſs, *Ferdinand* the Infant, (both glorious Rivals of *Charles*'s Courage and Atchievements) ſtood undaunted at the Battel of *Norlinguen*, not the leaſt terrified by the Death of a Colonel, who was kill'd by a Cannon-ſhot very near them. Nor ſhould I omit here the Example of *Maximillian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Elector of the Empire; the ſame, who was famous for the numerous Victories he obtain'd at the Head of the Catholick League. He was not puff'd up with them, nor ſuffer'd afterwards his great Soul to be broken by the contrary Succeſs, though he ſaw his States ruined, and the King of *Sweden*, and *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, in his Palace of *Monaca*, (a Fabrick worthy ſo great a Prince) and tho' he found the Duke of *Frizeland* as much his Enemy as the other two.

Let Envy, and the fickleneſs of Times, divide and daſh into never ſo many pieces, the Glaſs of States, yet in every of them, however ſmall, Majeſty will remain entire. Whoever is born to a Scepter, ought not to be chang'd at any Event or Accident whatever, nor think any ſo grievous and inſupportable as for it to abandon himſelf, and diſſemble the Perſon he bears. King *Peter*, even, when he fell into the Hands of his Bro-

(4) *Placidus ore, intrepidus verbis; intempeſtivas ſuorum lachrymas coercens.* Tac. 2. Hiſt.

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ther, and deadly Enemy, conceal'd not who he was, nay, when it was queſtion'd, if it were he or not, he cried out aloud, *It is I, it is I.* This very Conſtancy in preſerving a Grandeur and Majeſty in misfortunes, is ſometimes the beſt and only Remedy againſt them; as it was with *Porus*, King of the *Indies*, who being taken Priſoner by *Alexander* the Great, and demanded how he would be treated: Made anſwer, *Like a King.* And when *Alexander* ask'd him, whether he deſired nothing more: He replied, *That Word comprehends all.* Which Heroick Anſwer ſo affected *Alexander*, that he not only reſtored his Kingdom, but gave him other Countries beſides. To yield to Adverſity, is as it were to ſide with it. Valour in the Conquered pleaſes the Victor, either becauſe it renders his Triumph more glorious, or becauſe ſuch is the intrinſick Energy of Virtue. The Mind is not ſubject to Violence, nor has Fortune any Power over it. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, uſed ſevere Threats to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, to oblige him to Surrender the Dutchy of *Wirtemburg* To which his Anſwer was, *His Imperial Majeſty may indeed do what he pleaſes with my Body, but ſhall never be able to ſtrike fear into this Breaſt.* Which he really ſhew'd on another occaſion of much greater Danger; for it happened, as he was playing at Cheſs with *Erneſt*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, he heard Sentence of Death was paſs'd upon him, which he receiv'd with no more Trouble, than if the News had not concern'd him, but chearfully bid the Duke play on; which generous Carriage wiped off, in ſome meaſure, the Infamy of Rebellion, and procured him Glory. One great Action even upon a forced Death, leaves a Luſter and Repute to Life. As has in our own time happned: *Rodrigo Calderon*, Marquiſs *de Sieviglias*, *or Seven Churches*, whoſe truly Chriſtian Valour and Heroick Conſtancy, were the whole World's Admiration, in ſo much as to turn Envy and Hatred, things common to one of his Fortune, into Pity and Commendations. None are delivered from violent Caſualties by

Timorouſneſs, nor does Confuſion any way leſſen Danger, whereas Reſolution either overcomes, or at leaſt renders it illuſtrious. The People gather what Peril they are in from the Prince's Countenance, as Mariners do the danger of the Tempeſt from that of their Pilot. For that Reaſon ought he to appear equally ſerene in Proſperity and Adverſity, leaſt Fear daſh, or Pride exalt him, and others be able to judge of the State of Affairs. This made *Tiberius* take ſo much care to hide every unſucceſsful Accident (5). All is in Diſorder and Confuſion, when in the Prince's Face, as that of Heaven, the Tempeſts which threaten the Commons are diſcernible. To change Colour at every Breath of Fortune, betrays a light Judgment and mean Spirit. Conſtancy, and an even Look, inſpire Subjects with Courage, ſtrike Enemies with Admiration. All Men fix their Eyes upon the Prince, and if they ſee Fear there, they fear. Thus 'twas with thoſe who were at *Otho*'s Table (6). Beſides, there can be no Fidelity where Fear and Diſtruſt find Entertainment (7). Which, however, I would have underſtood of thoſe Caſes, wherein it is convenient to diſſemble Dangers, and conceal Calamities; for in others to join in publick Expreſſions of Sadneſs, don't ill become the Prince, as that which manifeſts his Love to his Subjects, and engages their Hearts. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, put himſelf in Mourning, and expreſs'd his Sorrow for the Sacking of *Rome*. *David* upon the news of the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, *took hold of his Cloaths, and rent them* (8). The ſame did *Joſhua* for the loſs received by the Men of *Ai*; *And he fell to the Earth before the Ark of the Lord* (9). And indeed, what can be more juſt, than in a common Calamity thus to ſubmit to God; 'tis a kind of Rebel-

(5) *Hæc audita, quanquam abſtruſum, & triſtiſſima quoque maxime occultantem Tiberium perculerunt.* Tac. 1. Ann. (6) *Simul Othonis vultum intueri, atque evenit inclinatis ad ſuſpicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho timebatur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt. (7) *Fides metu infracta.* Tac. 3 Hiſt. (8) 2 Sam. 1. 11. (9) Joſ. 7. 6.

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lion willingly to receive Good only at God's Hands, and not Evil alſo (10). He that is humble under Correction, moves to Pardon.

Here it may be diſputed, whether this Steddineſs of Mind be commendable in an Inferior, when he needs the Aid of the more Potent; the Solution of which Doubt requires a peculiar Diſtinction. He, who is under Oppreſſion, and craves anothers Aſſiſtance, ſhould not do it with too much Cringing and Solicitude, leaſt he make his Fortune deſperate, there being no Prince, who out of pure Compaſſion will reach his Hand to a Man fallen, or undertake the Defence of one that has already abandon'd all hopes of himſelf and his Affairs. *Pompey*'s Cauſe loſt not a little in the Opinion of *Ptolomy*, when he ſaw ſo much Submiſſion in his Ambaſſadors. The King of the *Cheruſci* ſhewed much more Courage, when upon the loſs of his Kingdom, thinking it his Intereſt to procure the Favour of *Tiberius*, *He wrote to him not like a Fugitive or Beggar, but as one who remembred his former Fortune* (11). Nor is the Example of *Mithridates* leſs Illuſtrious, who being overthrown by *Eunon*, is ſaid, with a Reſolution truly Royal, to have thus beſpoke him, Mithridates *ſo many Years ſought by the* Romans *by Sea and Land, here voluntarily Surrenders himſelf, do what you pleaſe with the Offſpring of the great* Achemenes, *the only thing my Enemies cannot deprive me of* (12). Which Words prevailed with *Eunon* to intercede with the Emperor *Claudius* in his behalf (13). Let him, who hath faithfully ſerved his Prince, ſpeak boldly if he find himſelf injured; as *Herman Cortez* did to *Charles* the Fifth; and *Segeſtes* to *Germanicus* (14). In other Caſes prudence ſhould examine

(10) Job 2. 10. (11) *Non ut profugus, aut ſupplex, ſed ex memoria prioris fortunæ.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) *Mithridates terra marique per tot annos Romanis quæſitis. ſponte adſum; utere, ut voles, prole magni Archelaï, quod mihi ſolum hoſtes non abſtulerunt.* Tac 12. Ann. (13) *Mutatione rerum, & prece haud degenerare permotus.* Tac. 12. Ann. (14) *Simul Segeſtes ipſe ingens viſu, & memoria bonæ ſocietatis impavidus; verba eius in hunc modum fuere.*

Neceſſity, Time, and the Things themſelves, having attentive Reſpect to the following Maxims. That a Superior takes boldneſs in an Inferior for an Affront, imagining he aſpires to be his equal, or diſparages him; and on the other ſide, is very apt to ſlight one he ſees too abject and ſubmiſſive. It was for this reaſon, *Tiberius* nominated none to be Senators, but ſuch as were of a ſervile Nature, and though ſuch Perſons were neceſſary for his Service, yet could he not endure that Baſeneſs of Mind (15). Thus we ſee Princes are competent Judges of every ones natural Vigour and Alacrity, and are apt to put Affronts upon thoſe whom they know will take them. *Vitellius* had not took the liberty to keep *Valerius Maximus* ſo long from the Conſulate, which *Galba* had conferr'd on him, but that he thought *his meek Temper would not reſent the Injury* (16). For this reaſon a reſolute kind of Modeſty, and a modeſt Courage will be highly requiſite in a Prince, who, if he muſt of Neceſſity be ruined, had better be ſo with a *Mind* great and noble, than baſe and degenerous. This *Marcus Hortalus* conſider'd, when *Tiberius* refuſed to aſſiſt him in the extremeſt Neceſſity (17).

When the more powerful denies another the Honour due to him, (eſpecially in Publick Actions) it is more adviſeable to ſnatch, and as I may ſay, ſteal, than diſpute them. He that doubts diſtruſts his Merit; the Diſſembler tacitly owns his want of it, and Modeſty is afterwards but laugh'd at. He, who handſomely aſſumes the Preference due to him, eaſily preſerves it afterwards. Thus it happ'ned once to the *German* Ambaſſadors, who ſeeing thoſe of ſuch Nations as ſurpaſſed in Valour and conſtant Alliance with the *Romans*, ſeated among the Senators in *Pompey*'s Theatre, ſaid, *No Men in the World were preferable to the* Germans

(15) *Etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ ſervientium patientiæ cedebat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (16) *Nulla offenſa, ſed mitem & injuriam ſegniter laturum.* Tac. 2. Hiſt. (17) *Avitæ nobilitatis etiam inter anguſtias fortunæ retinens,* Tac. 2. Ann.

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for Arms and Fidelity (18), and immediately took Place with the Senators, *every one being taken with their generous Freedom and noble Emulation* (19).

As to Favours and Gratuities, which depend wholly upon the Prince's pleasure, although they seem due to Merit or Virtue, the Subject ought not to murmur if they be not conferr'd upon him: On the contrary, rather give thanks under some honest Pretext, following the Example of some Officers, who were displac'd in *Vitellius*'s time (20). For a discreet Courtier usually lets acknowledgments close all his Discourse with the Prince. This piece of Prudence *Seneca* shewed after his Conference with *Nero*, about the Crimes laid to his Charge (21). He that complains, declares he has been ill us'd; and Princes have very little Confidence in one they think dissatisfied; all of them affecting to be like God in that, of whom we never complain in our Affliction, nay, we rather give thanks for them.

In Accusations also Constancy is of very great Consequence; he that gives way to them, makes himself a Criminal. The Innocent Person, who disowns his Actions, does in a manner plead guilty. A good Conscience arm'd with Truth, triumphs over Envy: If that be degenerate and resist not the Stream of Misfortunes, their Waves will overwhelm him, as a River by the force of its Current throws down the weaker Trees, whereas the deeply rooted stand immoveable. All *Sejanus*'s Favourites fell with his Fortune; *Marcus Terentius* alone, who couragiously acknowledged he had courted and esteem'd his Friendship, as that which procured him the Emperor *Tiberius*'s Favour, was acquitted (22); and all other Evidences either banished or

(18) *Nullos mortalium armis & fide ante Germanos esse* Tac. 13. Ann. (19) *Quod comiter à visentibus exceptum, quasi impetus antiqui, & bona amulatione.* Tac. 13. Ann. (20) *Atque insuper Vitellii gratiæ, consuetudine servitii.* Tac. 2. Hist. (21) *Seneca (qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum) gratias egit.* Tac. 14 Ann. (22) *Constantia orationis, & quia repertus erat qui efferret quæ omnes animo agitabant,* &c. Tac. 6. Ann.

executed. In ſome Caſes this firm aſſurance is abſolutely neceſſary, that Innocence defend not it ſelf by Excuſes, for fear of betraying Timorouſneſs; nor good Services be taken Notice of, leaſt they be thought to be upbraided. Thus *Agrippina* did when accuſed of having procured *Plautus* the Empire (23).

Nor ſhould the Prince's Perſon only be a Looking-Glaſs to his Subjects, but he is to ſhew himſelf ſuch by his State alſo, which is as it were his Picture, and ſo in that no leſs than his own Perſon, Religion, Juſtice, Clemency, and all other Imperial Virtues ought to be conſpicuous. And in as much as Councils, Seats of Juſtice, and Courts of Chancery, are Parts of this Glaſs, in them the ſame Qualities ſhould be found as are in the whole; nay, in all particular Miniſters who repreſent it; for it very much leſſens the Prince's Reputation to appear favourable to every Pretender to diſmiſs them with fair Promiſes, and give Incouragement to their Hopes; and on the other ſide, put off his Counſellors, and other Miniſters, to deter them by rough Uſage from purſuing their Petitions. An Artifice that will ſoon diſcover it ſelf to be unworthy a Generous and Royal Breaſt. The Miniſter is a piece of publick Coin, ſtamp'd with the Prince's Image, which, except it be of good Allay, and repreſent him to the Life, will be refuſed as Counterfeit (24). If the Head, which Governs, be of Gold, the Hands alſo which ſerve ſhould be ſo too; as were thoſe of the Spouſe in the Holy Scripture (25).

Farther, Ambaſſadors are alſo principal Parts of this Glaſs, as Perſons in whom the Prince's Authority is lodged. And certainly it would infinitely prejudice the Publick Faith to have his Words and Veracity not found in theſe: And as they are the Lieutenants of his

(23) *Ubi nihil pro innocentia, quaſi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quaſi exprobraret, diſſerunt.* Tac. 3. Ann. (24) *Præfectus niſi formam ſuam referat, mali fati inſtar ſubditis efficitur.* Them. Orat. 17. (25) Cant. 5. 11, 14.

Power

Power and Courage, ſo ought they on all Occaſions to manifeſt them, as if the Prince were preſent in Perſon. Thus did *Anthony Fonſeca*, after he had propoſed to *Charles* the Eighth, in his Catholick Majeſty's Name, that the Kingdom of *Naples* ſhould not be invaded, till it had been judicially determin'd whoſe Title was beſt, and ſaw it came to nothing; with ſingular freedom of Mind he openly declared his King had now ſatisfied his Conſcience; that he was at liberty to take which ſide he thought moſt juſt, and immediately in the preſence of the King and Council, broke the Treaties of Peace before made between the two Crowns. As the Miniſter is to be furniſhed with his Prince's Maxims, ſo alſo ſhould he be with his Majeſty, Valour and Magnanimity.

EMBLEM XXXIV.

WHoever looks on the Thorns and Prickles of the Roſe-Tree, will hardly be perſwaded a Daughter ſo beautiful as the Roſe could proceed from ſo deform'd a Mother. One had need be indued with a great Meaſure of Faith to water it, and wait till it be cloathed with Verdure, and bloſſom into that wonderful pomp of Flowers, of ſo delicate a Smell. Yet by Patience and long Expectation, we at length find the labour not loſt, nor that Care ill imployed which has produced ſuch Beauty and Fragrancy. The firſt Branches of Virtue are harſh and thorny to our depraved Nature, but after ſome time, its Flower of all other, the moſt beautiful begins to Bloom. Let not the firſt ſight of things diſcourage a Prince, for the outſide of very few in Government are pleaſant; they all ſeem full of Thorns

and

and Difficulties, but Experience has found many easy which appeared much otherwise to Sloth. The Prince therefore should not be disheartned; for in lightly yielding to them, he will be overcome by his own Apprehension rather than any thing real. Let him endure with Courage and Hope, with Patience and Perseverance, still keeping the means in his Hand. He that hopes has a good and faithful Companion on his side, I mean Time. Whence *Philip* the Second used to say, *I and Time against any two.* Precipitation is the effect of Madness, and generally the occasion of great Perils. *Theobald*, Earl of *Champagne*, put his Succession to the Crown of *Navarre*, very much in Question, by not having patience to wait for his Uncle, King *Sancho*'s Death, but underhand conspiring with the Nobles to possess himself of the Kingdom in his Life-time; for this put *Sancho* upon adopting *James* the First of *Arragon*, his Heir. Patience obtains many Trophies. This was *Scipio*'s Excellency, who though he had infinite occasions of Displeasure, was yet so patient, *as never to let a passionate Word fall from him* (1), which thing gave success to all his Designs. He that suffers with Expectation, vanquishes the slights of Fortune, and obliges her to take his Part, that Confidence among all her Vicissitudes like Flattery winning upon her. *Columbus*, not without great hazard, exposes himself to the Ocean's uncertain Waves, in quest of new Countries. Neither *Hercules*'s *Ne plus ultra*, at *Caspe* and *Abyla*, nor the Mountains of Waters, that seem to oppose his Enterprize deter him from it; he by Sailing tells the Sun's Steps, and steals from the Year its Days, from the Days their Hours; his Needle wants the Pole, his Charts the Lines, his Companions patience; all things conspire against him, but his Hope and Patience rub through all Difficulties, till at length a new World recompences his invincible Constancy. *Ferendum & Sperandum*, was a saying of *Empedocles*, and afterwards the Emperor

(1) *Ut nullum ferox verbum excideret.* Tit. liv.

Macrinus'

Macrinus's Motto, whence that of this Emblem is borrowed. Some Dangers are more easy to surmount than avoid: As *Agathocles* well knew, when being beaten, and besieged in *Syracuse*, he did not basely Surrender to the Enemy, but leaving a sufficient Body of Men for the Defence of the City, marched with the rest of his Army against *Carthage*, and he who could not be victorious in one War, by this means obtain'd a double Triumph. Rashness frequently overcomes a Danger, and despising it often confounds an Enemy. When *Hannibal* saw the *Romans* after the Battel of *Cannæ* send Succours into *Spain*, he began to fear their Power and Strength. No one ought to trust Prosperity too much, or despair in Adversity. Fortune lies between both, as ready to advance as depress. Let the Prince therefore keep in the one, and the other, a Constancy and Strength of Mind, prepared to encounter any Accident, and not suffer the Threats of the greatest Tempest to disturb him: For sometimes the Waves have cast a Man out of one Ship that is to be wreck'd, into another that is to be saved. A great and generous Soul Heaven it self favours. Let not the Prince rashly despair for anothers Dangers, or those which Chance brings with it. *He that observeth the Wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the Clouds shall not reap* (2). Let him not imagine he obliges any one by his Afflictions. Tears are Womanish, nor is Fortune appeased with such Sacrifices. A great Soul endeavours to give it self Satisfaction or Comfort by some heroick and generous Action: *Thus* Agricola, when he heard of his Son's Death, *took not the Accident as generally Men do, ambitiously; nor in Tears like Women; but by War diverted his Grief* (3). To be wholly insensible, is either Vainglory, or Excess of Consternation.

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(2) Eccl. 11. 4. (3) *Quem casum, neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiosè, neque per lamenta rursus, ac terrorem muliebrem tulit; & in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

In

In ſuing for Offices and Honours, the Deſign of this Emblem is very uſeful. He that can bear and hope, knows how to get the better of his Fortune. Whereas one that impatient of delay, thinks it baſe to be beholding and ſubmit, ſhall be deſpiſed and abandon'd by the whole World. To look on it as a point of Honour not to obey any, is the way to command none. The means are to be meaſured by the end; if in obtaining this there be more Honour got, than is loſt by them, certainly they ought to be uſed. Impatience of Sufferings we take for Generoſity of Mind, when it is imprudent Haughtineſs. Honour once attain'd, the Tracks made in aſcending them, preſently wear out. To endure much in order to Advancement, is not baſe Degeneracy, but extraordinary Strength of a Mind elevated and aſpiring. Some Tempers there are which can't abide to wait, that would have all things ended in a Moment; deſiring now to exceed their Equals, by and by their Superiors, and in a little while, even their own Hopes. Theſe hurried by this Violence of Ambition deſpiſe the moſt ſecure means as ſlow, and chooſe to employ the ſhorteſt, though moſt hazardous. But it uſually fares with them, as with Buildings raiſed in haſte, before the Materials have had time to dry and ſettle, which immediately fall down again.

The Maſter-piece of Government conſiſts in hoping and enduring, in that theſe are the only means to do things in time, without which nothing can poſſibly come to maturity. Trees that at the Springs firſt warmth bear Flowers, ſoon loſe them for not waiting till the Winters cold was quite gone. He, who would ripen Affairs with the Hand, cannot have the Satisfaction of taſting the Fruit of them. Impatience is the cauſe of Miſcarriages and Dangers (4); it creates Perils, which by being uneaſy under, and too haſty to eſcape, we augment. Therefore for thoſe Evils, as well Internal as External, which have by our negli-

(4) Prov. 14. 17.

gence

gence been increas'd in the Commonwealth, 'tis better to let them take their Courſe, and be ſenſibly cured by Time, than precipitate a Remedy, wherein there is more Danger. If before we could not foreſee and prevent; at leaſt let us learn to bear them after: They are increas'd by Oppoſition A Danger conceal'd or not taken notice of, thereby becomes publick, and lays greater Impediments in his way, who thought to ſtop it. Fear imprudently arm'd againſt a Superior Power, does but find it Exerciſe, and render it more powerful by the Addition of its own Spoils. This Method *Cerealis* took to compoſe the Minds of thoſe of *Treves*, leaſt they ſhould take up Arms againſt the *Romans*, ſaying, *A Fabrick, as that was, which had been the Product of Eight hundred years Succeſs and Induſtry, could not be pull'd down, but its Ruin muſt of neceſſity bury the Authors of it* (5). Many things would not ſucceed ſo ill, did not our Fear and Imagination act with too much Precipitation. Apprehenſion and Jealouſy of Tyranny, when once diſcovered, make it begin to be really, though it were not before. Whence in ſuch like Caſes, 'tis a piece of no leſs Courage to know how to diſſemble, than to be too raſh in remedying. The former is the genuine Effect of Prudence, this generally the Reſult of Fear.

(5) *Octogentorum annorum fortuna, diſciplinaque, compages hæc coaluit; quæ convelli ſine excidio convellentium non poteſt.* Tac. 4. Hiſt.

EMBLEM XXXV.

THE closer the Breath is preſſed in a Trumpet, with the greater Harmony and Variety it goes out of it; thus 'tis with Virtue, which is never more clear and harmonious than when ſuppreſſed by Malice (1). The Flame of Valour is apt to die, if the Wind of Adverſity don't revive it; that awakens the Mind, and makes it look about for means to amend it. Happineſs, like the Roſe, grows out of Thorns and Miſeries. *Alphonſo* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, was vanquiſh'd and taken in a Sea-fight with the *Genoeze*; and that, which in all probability was like to retard his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, was the very thing that furthered

(1) *Multorum improbitate depreſſa veritas emergit, & innocentiæ defenſa intercluſa reſpirat.* Cicero.

it

it with greater Happineſs and Power; for by making a League with *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, who retain'd him Priſoner, he obtain'd both his Liberty, and Forces for the Conqueſt of that Kingdom. Neceſſity compell'd him to get his Hoſt of his ſide; for in Proſperity, indeed, every one lives to himſelf alone, but in Adverſity for himſelf and others. Thoſe diſcloſe the Paſſions of the Mind, otherwiſe forgetful of it ſelf: Whereas, by this it learns Caution, and arms it ſelf with Virtues, as means to attain real and laſting Happineſs (2). Whence it is not a little eaſier to eſcape bad, than be continued in good Fortune. In Priſon firſt appeared *Alphonſo*'s extraordinary Endowments and Ornaments of Mind, which till then had lain hid; and the Duke of *Milan* charm'd with them, was ambitious of his Friendſhip, and laid theſe Obligations upon him. He obtain'd more by loſing the Victory, than he could have expected had he been Victor. Fortune ſports between Extreams, and takes delight in ſhewing her Power, in skipping from one to another. There is no Virtue but will ſhine in Adverſity, as no Star but ſparkles with greateſt Luſtre in the darkeſt Night. Then the weight ſhews the Palm's Strength when this is raiſed higher under it. The Roſe preſerves its Leaves longer freſh among Nettles than Flowers. Did not Virtue exert it ſelf in Adverſity too; it would not deſerve Victories or Triumphs. 'Tis its Property to Conquer by ſuffering. Whence it evidently appears, how impious the Error (confuted by us in another place) of thoſe is, who adviſe the Prince not to be bigotted to Virtue, but to comply with Vice when neceſſity ſhall require; a time in which he ought more particularly to approve himſelf conſtant in it, with greater hopes of Succeſs: As it uſually happned to the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second of Bleſſed Memory; who in his greateſt Dangers would reſolutely affirm, *He'd rather*

(2) *Secundæ res acrioribus ſtimulis animum exploravit; quia miſeriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

loſe

lose the Empire, and all he had, and with his whole Family beg from Door to Door, than to commit an unjust thing to maintain his Grandeur. Words truly worthy so Pious a Prince, whose exemplary Piety and Faith were so acceptable to God Almighty, that he vouchsafed to take the Imperial Scepter, and perform his Office here on Earth, giving him several signal and miraculous Victories. In the greatest Dangers and Distresses, when all hope fail'd, and humane Prudence and Valour were destitute of means, he always came off with most Success and greatest Triumph. The *Roman* Emperors of old lived in Affluence of Peace, and all manner of Delights, yet were tyrannized over by their own Passions, and rack'd by a thousand Fears. But this Pious Hero found Repose and Tranquility of Mind amidst the raging Tempests, which the Fury of Rebels raised against his Empire, and most August House The just sings amidst Misfortunes, and the wicked Man weeps in his Impiety. Thus the fiery Furnace was as a Choire to the three Children (3). Miseries and Hardships are attended with great Advantages; they correct the Prince's Pride, and reduce him to Reason; with what fury does the Wind sometimes storm? How arrogantly does the Sea swell and rage, its foaming Billows like Mountains threatning Heaven and Earth! And yet a small Shower composes and calms it. Thus Misfortunes raining from Heaven allay the Prince's Pride and Presumption. They make a just Governor of a Tyrant, of a Prince careless and negligent of his Affairs, one careful and circumspect. For, then even Necessity obliges him to take Care of his People, to esteem Nobility, honour Valour, do Justice, and respect Religion. Power is never in greater Danger than when all things flow prosperously. For Cares being then laid aside, too much Security is apt to stifle Counsel and Prudence. Ease and Idleness has been the Ruin of more Princes than Labour. 'Tis with them as with Bodies,

(3) Dan. 3. 50.

which are kept in Vigor by Motion, without which they languiſh and decay. Whence it appears farther, how erroneous we are in our Judgments of Good and Evil, ſcarce ever knowing what is moſt for our Advantage. Adverſity we look on as Rigour and Chaſtiſement, when it is really Warning and Inſtruction. The Preſent of Ear-rings and a Sheep, which *Job*'s Friends and Relations made him, ſeems to intimate, that he ſhould endure all things with a patient, even Temper (4), and that thoſe Afflictions were precious Admonitions of God whiſper'd in his Ear. God's afflicting us ſometimes is wonderful Mercy, and on the contrary his Recompences are Puniſhments; for by theſe he clears, as it were, the Bill of our Debts, and by paying for ſome of our Merits, remains Creditor to our Offences; whereas by afflicting us, he at once pays himſelf, and excites us to Amendment.

(4) Job 42. 12.

EMBLEM XXXVI.

THE expert and prudent Seaman is not always carried at the Pleasure of the Wind, but rather by the Benefit of it, so disposes the Sails of his Ship, that he arrives at the desired Port, and with the same Wind lands at which he pleases of two opposite Shores, without endangering his Voyage.

But when the Heaven's calm, by the help of Sails and Oars he out-strips even the Wind it self. With no less Care and Diligence the Prince ought to Steer the Vessel of his State in the tempestuous Sea of his Reign, so attentively observing all Storms that he may with Prudence and Valour make use of the same in their time and place. He is a Pilot, to whose Conduct the Life and Safety of all is committed; nor is any Ship more hazardous than a Crown exposed to so many Winds of Ambition,

ſo many Rocks of Enemies, and Storms of People. King *Sancho* the Brave needed all his Induſtry to arm himſelf againſt Fortune, and ſecure the Right of his Crown. Almoſt the whole Science of Politicks conſiſts in knowing how to diſcern Times, and make uſe of them: A Storm ſometimes bringing a Ship ſooner into Harbour than a Calm. He, who can break the force of ill Fortune, renders it favourable; and one that knowing a Danger yields to it, and gives it time, at length ſurmounts it. When the Sailor finds there is no contending with the Billows, he ſtrikes Sail and abandons himſelf to them; and becauſe his Reſiſtance would rather add force to the Wind, uſes ſome narrow Creek to reſt his Ship in, and ſhelter it from the Waves. Something muſt be granted Dangers, if one would eſcape them. *James* the Firſt, King of *Arragon*, was ſenſible of the Averſion his Nobles and People had to him, and that it was by no means convenient to increaſe their Fury by an untimely Oppoſition, but rather to give it time to ſink of it ſelf; as Rivers do, whoſe Waters in a Tempeſt ſwell and overflow their Banks, voluntarily ſuffer'd himſelf to be play'd upon, and as it were impriſoned, till he reſtored all things to their former Calmneſs and Tranquility, and reinſtated himſelf in the Throne. The ſame diſcreet Moderation Queen *Mary* uſed, when by ſiding with the Grandees, and ſatisfying their Ambition, ſhe preſerved the Crown of *Caſtile*, during the Minority of her Son, *Ferdinand* the Fourth †. Did the Sailor think it a diſhonour to yield to a Storm, and were reſolved with Sails and Oars to withſtand it, his Ruin would be inevitable. Conſtancy conſiſts not in unſeaſonable ſtruggling, but in hoping, and ſo enduring Danger, without letting Fortune get the upper hand of one. In ſuch Caſes the Glory is to eſcape ſafe. What ſeems Baſeneſs of Mind in them, is afterwards Magnanimity crown'd with Succeſs. When King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, ſaw himſelf

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp.

deprived

deprived of his Kingdom, putting his whole Confidence in the King of *Morocco*'s Aſſiſtance, made no difficulty to beg of *Alphonſo de Guzman*, Governor of St. *Lucar de Barameda*, who upon ſome Diſguſt had retired to that Prince's Court, that forgetting all former Injuries, and remembring their ancient Amity, and his Nobility, he would ſtand his Friend, and endeavour to be an Inſtrument of that King's ſupplying him with Men and Money. Which Letters are to this Day kept in that moſt Illuſtrious and Ancient Houſe.

Nevertheleſs Kings ought not to yield to their Subjects violence, unleſs in Caſes of Extremity, for he very little conſults his Authority, who debaſes himſelf by too much Condeſcention. The diſhonourable Terms King *Ferdinand* the Holy, conſtrain'd by his Non-age, made the Houſe of *Zara*, no way appeaſed them. Nor could *Iſabella* reclaim *Alphonſo Carillo*, Biſhop of *Toledo*, though ſhe honour'd him with a Viſit at *Alcala*. I confeſs in deſperate Caſes, prudence is wont to try all ways that Chance can render poſſible. It is great Courage and Strength of Reaſon, on Occaſions of that Nature to reſtrain the Spirits, and weigh the preſent Neceſſity, and greatneſs of the Danger againſt ſuch means as may contribute more to the State's Preſervation. No one was ever more Jealous of his Grandeur than *Tiberius*, yet he diſſembled the Boldneſs of *Lentulus Germanicus*, who having the Command of the *German* Legions, was ſo audacious as to write to him with Threats, not to ſend him a Succeſſor, covenanting as 'twere to let his Prince enjoy the Empire, provided he were continued in his Province (1); and he, who could not put up the Emulation of his Sons, took this ſlight patiently. Not but he knew the ill Conſequence of letting ſuch Diſobedience go unpuniſhed, but if he oppoſed it, he conſider'd he ſhould incurr the publick Odium; that he was now in Years, and in a State where

(1) *Reputante Tiberio, publicum ſibi odium, extremam ætatem, magiſque fama, quam vi ſtare res ſuas.* Tac. 6. Ann.

his Affairs depended more upon Reputation than Strength. Subjects would be little beholding to the Valour of the Prince who governs them, if he ſhould preſently in ill Fortune ſubmit to Neceſſity; and on the other ſide as little to his Prudence, if when that Fortune can't be overcome, he will however withſtand it. Courage ſhould be moderated by Prudence and Addreſs, and what cannot be effected by Strength, ſhould be the Work of Art and Induſtry. 'Tis no leſs glorious to avoid than to ſurmount a Danger. To fly it always is Sloth; to expect, Ignorance or Surprize; to deſpair Cowardice. Men of Courage make Head againſt Fortune her ſelf. The Prince's Duty and End is not lightly to conteſt with his State upon the Billows, but to conduct it to the Haven of Preſervation and Safety. That is eſteemed valiant Wiſdom, which draws Benefit out of Adverſity; as alſo, that which by ſtruggling compaſſes its Ends ſooner. Kings, the Maſters of Times and Things, are always followed, never led by them. There's no Building, but whoſe Ruins, with what Addition Induſtry is wont to make, may Erect a more ſtately Fabrick: Nor any State ſo intirely abandon'd by Fortune, that Valour cannot preſerve, and even advance, provided it conſult Prudence upon Events, and know how to make right uſe of them, or at leaſt to turn them to its Advantage. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, had divided between them the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the great Captain knowing the Circle of a Crown to have but one Center, and that Empire admits of no Companion, endeavoured immediately to get his Maſter's Share into his Hands; that in Caſe of after Diſputes, which he foreſaw would ariſe between thoſe two Kings, he might be the more at leaſure, and uſe them afterwards to diſpoſſeſs the King of *France* of his Part, as in Effect it happned. Accidents, it is true, have ſome force; but we increaſe or diminiſh them according to our Carriage under them. Our Ignorance gives Divinity and Power to Fortune, in that

we lightly reſign our ſelves to her Viciſſitudes. Did we change our Cuſtoms and Meaſures as oft as ſhe does the Times, ſhe would not be ſo powerful, nor we ſo ſubject to her Empire. The Make of our Cloaths we alter with the Mode, but neglect our Mind and Manners. What Wind does not the skilful Pilot make ſerviceable to his Voyage? As that veres he trims his Sails, and thus all conduce to the end he propoſes. We refuſe to ſhake off the ill Habits of our Nature, either out of Self-love or Imprudence, and afterwards lay the fault on Caſualty. We grow deſperate before we ſeek to remedy our Misfortunes, and through Obſtinacy or Inadvertency, let Deſpair get the Aſcendant over us. We cannot in Adverſity lay aſide that Pride, Anger, Vain-glory, Detraction, and thoſe other Vices which Proſperity bred in us; nor are without great difficulty induc'd to acknowledge them that have brought us into that unhappy Condition. Every moment in every Affair, with whomſoever of his Subjects the Prince ſhall have to do, he ought to differ from himſelf and change his Nature. Nor does this require any extraordinary Knowledge, but a certain Diſpoſition only, and Capacity to adapt ones ſelf to all Contingences, and Prudence to foreſee them.

Now, as we are loſt in Adverſity for want of furling the Sails of our Paſſions, and ſubmitting to it for a time; ſo alſo do we bring Deſtruction upon our ſelves and Princes, when we indiſcreetly and conceitedly go about to meaſure their Intereſt, Paſſions, and Inclinations, by our own Natures and Advantages: It being impoſſible for a Miniſter of a liberal Temper to exert his Generoſity under a Covetous, Griping Prince; or one Valiant and Active with one Slothful and Cowardly. Our Motions ſhould be regulated by the Activity of the Prince's Sphere. This was a fault in *Corbulo*, who ſerving *Claudius*, a puſilanimous, mean-ſpirited Prince, made many raſh Attempts, by

which he could not but be disagreeable to him (4). In some Ministers an imprudent Zeal is the cause of this Error; in others, which is most frequent, Self-love and Vain-glory, which makes them desirous to appear prudent in the Eyes of the World, and shew their Ability, as if, forsooth, by their means alone the Prince succeeded; but that whatever he undertakes by himself, or others, is faulty; and thus under Colour of Zeal they publish the Goverment's Defects, and discredit their Prince: Artifices which generally the Minister himself feels the Effect of afterwards by the loss of his Prince's Favour. He that consults his Interest, and would establish his Fortune, must with all possible speed fly such Affectations, as odious to the Prince and whole World; he should be more serviceable in Deed than in Word; he should conform to the Prince's Nature and Condition, reducing him to Reason, and his Duty, under Colour of Service, with Humility and a quiet Industry, without Noise and Arrogance (5). It is the ruin of Valour and Virtue to be too nice Observers of Constancy, and to think that their whole Reputation depends upon it; for in the mean time others more various, who can transform themselves into any Shape, and suit theirs to the Prince's Nature, carry away the Gratuities and Preferments.

But these are not to be used with *Aleto*'s Design, to deceive; but to prevent being unadvisedly ruined at Court, or to render one more serviceable to the Prince, for there are some of such a Make, that it is absolutely necessary for the Minister to put on their Nature; and as I may say, to creep into them, to make them move and act; as Men, who neither will be directed by others Counsel, nor can dispatch their own (6). And consequently not always what is most

(4) *Cur hostem concitet? adversa in Remp. casura; sin prosperè egisset, formidolosum pari virum insignem, & ignavo principi prægravem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (5) Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Neque aliena consiliis regi, neque sua expedire.* Tac. 3. Hist.

expedient

expedient is to be adviſed a Prince, but what he is in Duty oblig'd to execute. Thoſe courageous Counſels which were given *Vitellius*, though the beſt in the World, were uſeleſs becauſe he wanted Reſolution to put them in Practice (7); he was uſually deaf to them. Miniſters are as it were the Prince's Sails. Now, if they are large, and the Prince a ſhallow Veſſel, if they are always looſed without Conſideration of the Burthen of the Boat, they will certainly overſet it.

(7) *Surdæ ad fortia conſilia Vitellio aures.* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

E M-

EMBLEM XXXVII.

37

THAT the Prince may not escape the Storm without full Instructions in all Accidents that ill Fortune can throw him into; this Device represents the choice of the lesser Evil, when the greater are inevitable. Thus the Pilot, when he has lost all hopes of being saved by Opposition, or Compliance with the Tempest, endeavours to make the Land, and run his Ship ashore; where, if he lose his Ship, yet he saves his Life and Merchandize. It was very commendable in the *Romans*, that when they could not oppose Fortune, they provided for their own Security. The Prince's Valour consists not only in resisting, but withal in weighing Dangers, and submitting to the less, when the greater is insuperable. For as it is the part of Prudence to prevent, so it is of Courage and Constancy

to

to bear patiently what is not in the power of Prudence to decline, a thing *Alphonſo* the Sixth was a great Maſter of; a Prince modeſt in Proſperity, valiant in Adverſity, never unprepar'd for any Accident. 'Tis a Vain-glory of a Prince, who with more Temerity than Valour, chooſes rather to die in the greater Danger, than eſcape in the leſſer. He conſults more his own Fame than the Publick Safety; or rather wants Courage to deſpiſe the Opinions of the Multitude, who inconſiderately, and without any knowledge of the Accidents, condemn prudent Reſolutions; and when in Danger, are againſt having recourſe to Remedies ſo dangerous and violent. That ſometimes looks like Courage is Cowardice; where preſence of Mind is wanting to hope in danger, the Confuſion of Fear caſts us into it. When Prudence and Fortitude go hand in hand, then Conſideration takes place; and if it find not ſafety in the leſſer, is not affraid to encounter the greater Danger. 'Tis a baſe weakneſs to die with fear. There is no Valour like what neceſſity inſpires. 'Tis commonly the laſt Remedy in deſperate caſes, neither to hope nor quite deſpair. Thus a Ship not daring to truſt the Shore, abandons it ſelf to the wide Sea, and by the force of its Billows eſcapes. One Peril is ordinarily the Remedy of another. Upon this, I conceive, was grounded the Counſel ſome gave *Galba* in a Conſpiracy againſt him, to oppoſe the firſt fury of it (1). *Garcias Gomez* defended the Fort of *Xerez*, (which he was Governor of in the time of *Alphonſo* the Wiſe) and although he ſaw all his Men kill'd or wounded, would not Surrender, nor accept the Terms, though honourable, which the Moors offer'd him; for having little Confidence in them, he choſe rather to die glorioufly in the Arms of his Fidelity, than thoſe of his Enemies; and what in all appearance was like to coſt him his Life, in a wonderful manner charm'd his Ene-

(1) *Proinde intuta quæ indecora; vel ſi cadere neceſſe ſit, occurrendum diſcrimini*, Tac. 1. Hiſt.

mies,

mies, who admiring his Bravery and Reſolution, by a Hook drew him out of the Citadel alive, uſing him with great Civility, and carefully dreſſing the Wounds he had receiv'd during the Siege †. Such is the force of Valour, that it captivates even Enemies. Courage has given life to more than Fear. I know not what Divinity attends and reſcues it from Dangers. When *Ferdinand*, the Holy, beſieg'd *Sevil*, *Garcias Perez de Vargas*, a Citizen of *Toledo*, with another, being ſeparated from their Company, were paſſing along the River *Guadalquivir*, when on a ſudden they ſpy ſeven *Mooriſh* Horſe making towards them: His Comerade adviſes him to retire, but *Garcias* not to incurr the Ignominy of Cowardice by a diſhonourable Flight, pulls down the Vizer of his Helmet, brandiſhes his Sword and advances by himſelf: The *Moors* knowing his Perſon, and admiring his Reſolution, let him paſs without attacking him. Thus his Heroick Valour ſav'd him; for had he fled with his Companion, the Enemy had in all probability purſued and took him Priſoner. It requires a Mind free and diſingag'd to examine Dangers; firſt in the Report, and afterwards in the Quality of them: In the Rumour, becauſe thoſe are generally eſteem'd greateſt which are fartheſt off. The People hear and tremble at them, and ſeditiouſly ſpread and increaſe them, rejoycing at their own Misfortunes becauſe unuſual, or out of Diſaffection to the preſent Government. It is therefore the Prince's part to appear firm, and to diſperſe ſuch idle Apprehenſions. As upon thoſe Reports which were ſpread in the time of *Tiberius*, of the Revolt of the Provinces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, he never betrayed the leaſt diſcompoſure, nor chang'd his Reſidence, nor way of living, as well knowing the levity of ſuch Reports (2). If once a Prince ſurrender to Fear, he will be ever

† Mar. Hiſt. Hiſp. (2) *Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit; altitudine animi, an competerat, modica eſſe & vulgatis leviora?* Tac. 3. Hiſt.

after

after uncapable of resolving. For then prudent Counsels and popular Rumours will be receiv'd with equal credit. As they were by *Vitellius* in the Civil War with *Vespasian* (3). Dangers imminent appear greatest, being cloath'd by Fear with horror, and by Presence magnified; and we by endeavouring to escape them, fall into others abundantly greater, which though they seem at a distance, we afterwards find too near. 'Tis idle to imagine we can avert them by interposing a little time. Many have vanished by being resisted, on the contrary, Opposition has encreas'd others, and they have prov'd real, which were only imaginary. As it happened to the *Syrians* Army before *Samaria* (4). Fear of danger has destroy'd more than Danger it self. What vain Apprehension can do? We have within these few Years seen at a publick Bull-fight at *Madrid*, when a suddain Bruit being rais'd of some danger in the place where they fought, struck Confusion and Terror into all, though not one knew the Reason. The confus'd Flight of some increased the Consternation, and because none would stay to know the certainty, many ran into the Jaws of Death by the same way they took to escape it; and the Consequence had been much worse, had not the Constancy of *Philip* the Fourth, whom every ones Eyes were upon, unmov'd at the Commotion and Rumour, rais'd the trembling Spirits of his Subjects, except the Prince in Dangers and Misfortunes of this Nature, can repress the Peoples fears, Counsels are confounded, all Command, and none Obey.

To be too cautious in avoiding Dangers, is sometimes the utter Ruin of States. *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, had not lost his, and his Electorate, had not fear after his Defeat given Wings to him to abandon all: For he might easily have retired to *Prague*, or some

(3) *Quia in metu consilia prudentium, & vulgi rumor juxta audiuntur.* Ibid. (4) 2 Kings 6. 7.

other

other place, with the Remnant of his Forces, and compounded with the Emperor, ſo by making choice of the leſſer Evil have eſcap'd the greater.

We are oftentimes deluded by fear ſo diſguiſed, that we take it for Prudence, and Conſtancy for Raſhneſs. We ſometimes boggle, and are at a ſtand what to reſolve, and in the interim the Danger ſteals on us. All things are not to be fear'd, nor is Deliberation always required, for between Prudence and Precipitation, Valour often deſigns noble Actions. The Great Captain having entered the River *Garillan* with his Army, was reduc'd to ſuch Streights, that his Soldiers mutined and deſerted; and when his Officers adviſed him to Retreat, he anſwered, *This I have reſolv'd with my ſelf, rather to gain Ground, though but enough for a Grave, than give back a ſtep, might I live an hundred Years.* An Heroick Sentence, worthy the Courage and Prudence of ſo Great a Man. He well knew, that without Raſhneſs there was no hopes, in the Caſe he then was; but weighing the Danger againſt the Credit of his Arms, the only ſupport of his Faction in the Kingdom, which entirely depended upon the Succeſs of that Expedition, he choſe rather to put all to the riſque of one Battel, and maintain his Repute, than to loſe by degrees with diſhonour. How often for want of a timely Inciſion have we let Wounds feſter and ſpread.

Some Dangers vaniſh of themſelves, others are increaſed by negligence, and waſt Kingdoms inſenſibly, and make them periſh as it were by a Conſumption. Some are unknown; of theſe one can't be too Cautious, for that they ſurpriſe before a Remedy can be provided. Others are known but ſlighted, by theſe negligence, and too much confidence are uſually ſufferers. No Danger, though never ſo inconſiderable ſhould be deſpiſed, for Time, and other Accidents often augment them, and Valour conſiſts not ſo much in vanquiſhing,

vanquishing, as in diverting Dangers. To live in sight thereof, is as bad as to suffer them (5).

Nor is the Confidence we put in another's Clemency less treacherous, when to decline one Danger we fall into a greater, as when we surrender our selves at Discretion to an Enemy; we consider in him only the generosity of Pardon, not the force of Revenge or Ambition; we measure his Compassion by our Grief and Affliction, and are apt to persuade our selves that we can move him to relieve us. When *James* the Third, King of *Majorca*, was too weak for his Brother-in-Law, *Peter* the Fourth of *Arragon*, who upon I know not what pretence would dispossess him of his Dominions; he put himself into his Hands, thinking this Submission would obtain what his Arms could not; but that King was more influenc'd by Ambition than Clemency, so that he deprived him of his Kingdom and Title. Thus Dangers deceive us, and we find that to be the greater, which we chose as the lesser. There can be no assurance in Counsel grounded on Principles that depend on anothers pleasure. We deceive our selves in supposing others will act nothing but what is agreeable to Religion, Justice, Relation, or Friendship, or but what is consistent with their Honour and Interest. Not considering that Men are not always guided by their Advantage or Duty, but rather by their private Passions and Sentiments; and consequently their Actions are not only to be examined by the Rule of Reason, but also by that of Malice, and the Experience of the ordinary Injustices and Tyrannies of the World.

Dangers are a Prince's best Masters. The past teach how to remedy the present, and prevent the future: Those of others are, 'tis true, instructing, but they

(5) *Nemo mortalium juxta viperam securos somnos sapit, quæ etsi non percutiat certe solicitat; tutius est perire non posse, quam juxta periculum non periisse.* Sanct. Hier.

are

are eaſily forgot. Our own leave in the Soul ſome Marks and Scars of the loſſes ſuſtain'd, as that which has once wounded the Imagination does fear. Let not then contempt or forgetfulneſs ever eraſe them, eſpecially when having eſcap'd a Danger, we fancy the ſame will never return, or if it does, will not annoy us; for though ſome one Circumſtance, which is very unlikely to happen a ſecond time, may remove Dangers, yet other ſucceeding new ones make them unavoidable.

EMBLEM

EMBLEM XXXVIII.

FROM Nature, this universal Commonwealth of things, and Empire of mixt Bodies, derive their Original, the supreme Government of which she lays claim to; and for the more firm establishment, and more secure maintaining of it, has made her self so loved by them, that the Elements, even in the midst of their contrariety with an admirable consent, conspire to preserve it. All things would be soon dissolv'd, did they hate Nature their Princess and Sovereign, who with mutual ties of Love and Benevolence, as with the fastest knor, unites them. It is this Love which holds the Earth *in Æquilibrio*, and makes the Orbs of Heaven whirl round it. Let this Monarchy of things created, founded in their first Being, be a Lesson to defend their Persons and Subjects by affection,

the moſt faithfull guard they can have about them (1).

Claud. *Not Guards, nor Groves of Pikes defend like Love.* This is the only impregnable Fort (2). For which reaſon the Bees elect a King without a Sting, for he has no need of Arms, who is beloved by his Subjects. Nature would by no means have it in his power to hurt, whoſe duty 'tis to govern, leaſt he become odious, and promote his own ruin. *The greateſt and moſt abſolute power a Prince can have* (ſays K. *Alphonſo*) *is when he loves his People, and they reciprocally love him.* The body defends the Head, upon account of the Love it bears it, in conſideration, that this directs and preſerves it: elſe would it not hold up its arm toward the threatning blow. Who would expoſe himſelf to Hazards, except he had a Love for his Prince? Who protect and defend his Crown? The whole Kingdom of *Caſtile* ſided with the Infant *Henry*, againſt K. *Peter* the Cruel, becauſe the one was beloved by all, the other as univerſally hated. The firſt Principle of the ruin of Kingdoms, and all the Revolutions in States is Hatred. The Kings *Ordonno* and *Fruela* the Second were ſo abominated by their Subjects, that the very name of King became odious; *Caſtile* was reduc'd into a Commonwealth, and the Government divided between two Judges, one of which adminiſtred affairs of Peace, the other thoſe of War †. *Portugal* never took up Arms againſt its Kings, nor revolted from its obedience; the reaſon is, it bears a ſincere affection towards them; and if at any time it has excluded one and admitted another, 'twas, becauſe one was belov'd, the other for Male-adminiſtration hated. It was the advice of *James* the Firſt of *Arragon* to *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, to ſeek rather the Love than Fear of his Subjects, and to ingratiate himſelf with the Clergy and Commons, that he might be the better able to grapple with the Nobility; which Counſel if he had follow'd, he had never loſt the Crown. *Nero* no ſooner ceas'd to be

(1) *Corporis cuſtodiam tutiſſimam eſſe putatam in virtute amicorum, tum in benevolentia civium eſſe collocatam.* Iſocr. ad Nic. (2) *Salvum Principem in aperto clementia præſtabit, vivum erit inexpugnabile monumentum amor civium.* Sen. de Clem. lib. 1. ca. 19. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp.

lov'd,

lov'd, than Conspiracies were form'd against him, a thing which *Subrius Flavius* upbraided him with to his face (3). A King's Power and Majesty consist not in his own Person, but in the Affection and good Will of his Subjects. If they be disaffected, who will oppose his Enemies? 'Tis Preservation makes the people want a King, but that can never be expected from one, who makes himself hated. The *Arragonians* prudently foresaw this, when having call'd to the Crown *Peter Altharez* Lord of *Borgia*, from whom the most ancient and illustrious Family of the Dukes of *Gandia* is descended, they afterwards repented, and would not have him for their King, because they saw he us'd them with Austerity and Rigour, even before his Election. Contrary to what *Ferdinand* the First, King of *Arragon* did, who by Love and Benevolence, engag'd the hearts of all in that Kingdom, as also in *Castile* during his Reign there. We have seen many Princes ruin'd by Fear, none ever by Love. If therefore a Prince would be formidable, let it be to his Enemies, but let him endeavour to be belov'd by his Subjects; without which, though he come victorious over them, he will at last fall by the hands of these. As it befell *Bardanus* King of *Persia* (4). Love and Respect may be joyned, but not Love and servile Fear. He who is fear'd is hated, and he who is hated is by no means secure.

Quem metuunt, oderunt.
Quem quisque odit periisse expedit. Enn.

He who is fear'd by many, also fears many. And what greater misfortune is there, than to command those who obey through Fear, and govern Bodies rather than Minds? The difference between the just Prince and the Tyrant is, That one uses Arms to maintain his Subjects in Peace, the other to protect himself against them. If the strength and

(3) *Nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti, odisse cœpi postquam parricida Matris & Uxoris, aurigo, histrio, & incendiarius extitisti.* Tac. 15. ann. (4) *Claritudine paucos inter senatum Regum, si perinde amorem inter populares, quam metum apud hostes quæsivisset.* Tac. 11. ann.

power of a Prince hated, be ſmall, he is much expoſed to danger from his Subjects; if great, yet much more. For the greater their fear is, the more ſollicitous are they to provide for their Security, as apprehending his cruelty will encreaſe with his Grandeur, as in *Bardanus* King of *Perſia*, whoſe Glory made him more ſevere and inſupportable to his Subjects (5) If not for fear of danger, at leaſt in gratitude, a Prince ſhould avoid being terrible to thoſe by whom he reigns. Whence that was a very unworthy ſaying of *Caligula*, *Let them hate me, ſo they fear me*; as if the ſecurity of Empire conſiſted in Fear: Whereas no power can be laſting where fear bears the ſway. And though *Seneca* ſaid, *He knows not how to govern, who is too fearfull of Hatred*; *Fear defends Kingdoms*: 'Tis a Tyrannick Maxim, or is to be underſtood of that vain Fear which ſometimes Princes are in of offending others, even when their Commands are juſt, which doubtleſs is dangerous, and not a little derogatory from their Authority. He can never reign, who wants Conſtancy and Courage to deſpiſe the Hatred of ill men, to preſerve the good. Nor is *Caligula*'s Sentence juſtifi'd by that of the Emperor *Tiberius*; *Let them hate me, ſo they approve me.* For no action of a perſon hated is ever approv'd. Hatred blames all, and puts the worſt Conſtruction on every thing. When once a Prince is hated, his good actions as well as bad are interpreted againſt him. It ſeems neceſſary for a Tyrant to keep his Subjects in awe, in as much as his Empire being violent, muſt be ſupported by violent means, there wanting thoſe two Obligations of Nature and voluntary Subjection, which, as *Alphonſo* the Wiſe ſays, *are the greateſt Debts a man can owe his Lord.* And the Tyrant ſenſible, that without theſe bands 'tis impoſſible there ſhould be real Love between him and his Subjects, endeavours by force to make Fear effect what ought to proceed from natural Affection; and as his diſturbed Conſcience fears Cruelty againſt it ſelf, it exerciſes it upon others (6). But the lamentable examples of all Tyrants abundantly ſhew

(5) *Ingens gloria, atque eo ferocior, & ſubjectis intolerantior*, Tac. 11. ann. (6) Wiſd. 17. 11.

how

how ſhort-liv'd this method is. For though we ſee the Empires of the *Turks*, *Muſcovites* and *Tartars* have been continued for many Ages by Fear alone, yet theſe barbarous Nations ought not to be made a Precedent: Their Manners are ſo ſavage, that they ſeem to have more of the Brute than the Man, being commonly led more by Puniſhment than reaſon, and conſequently by that only can be kept in ſubjection, as Brutes are not tamed but by Force and Fear. Yet generous Spirits ſuffer not themſelves to be compell'd or cheated into Obedience, but are induc'd thereto by ſincerity and reaſon. *For*, ſays King *Alphonſo*, *our people being loyal and couragious, their Loyalty ought to be maintain'd by truth, and their Courage by right and juſtice.*

There is uſually 'twixt the Prince and his Subjects ſuch a kind of inclination and natural Sympathy, as renders him amiable without any more care; for a Prince who deſerv'd Hatred is ſometimes lov'd, and on the contrary one hated who merited Love. And though eminent Vertues and Accompliſhments of Mind and Body are wont of themſelves to challenge Love, yet they have not always this effect, unleſs accompanied with an agreeable kind of Humour, a ſweet, obliging Air, which through the Eyes, as Windows of the Mind, ſhews the inward Goodneſs, and engages mens Affections. Beſides that, accidents which could not be prevented, or ſome ſiniſter apprehenſion may ſo break this Love and good Will between the Prince and Subject, that it can never after be re-united; yet much may be done in that caſe by skill and addreſs, in knowing how to govern to the ſatisfaction of the Nobles and Commons, avoiding giving them any occaſion of diſpleaſure, and behaving himſelf in all particulars, ſo as to create a good opinion of his Government. But ſince the means whereby the Affections of Subjects may be procur'd, are every where ſcatter'd through this Book, I ſhall only ſay here in general, that nothing contributes more to the obtaining it, than Religion, Juſtice and Liberality.

But becauſe without ſome Species of Fear, Love would be ſoon turn'd to Contempt, and the edge of Regal Autho-

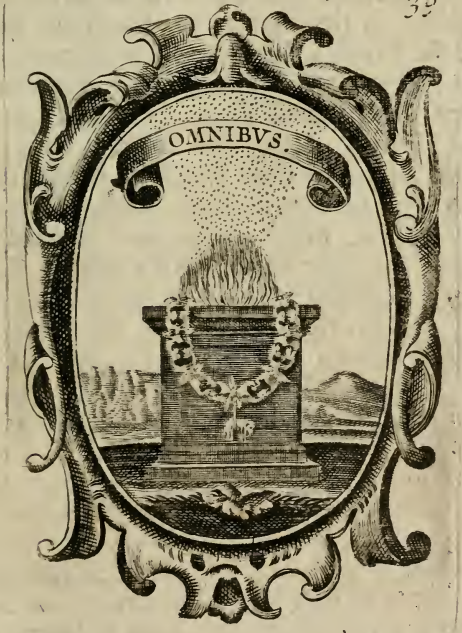
rity blunted (7), it is highly requisite, that Subjects entertain such an awe as arises from Respect and Veneration, not that which is the result of danger from Injustice and Tyranny. So necessary it is for a Prince to make himself feared by not suffering Indignities, maintaining Justice, and abhorring Vice, that without such an awe in Subjects, 'twould be impossible to be long secure: For all naturally desire Liberty, and the inferior part of man rebells against Reason, and is incorrigible but by Fear. The Prince must therefore tame his Subjects as the Horse-courser breaks his Colt, (the figure of the present Emblem) who with the same hand strokes and curries him and threatens him with the Whip. Both the Rod and the Manna were kept in the Ark of the Tabernacle, to intimate, as I imagin, that Rigour and Clemency should be joyn'd in the Prince's person. God's Rod and Staff comforted *David*; for if that wounded, this supported him (8). When God gave the Law of the Decalogue to the *Israelites* on Mount *Sinai*, he at once terrified them with Thunder and Lightning, and pleasing, allur'd them with Heavenly Musick; both the one and the other is necessary to preserve a Love and Veneration in Subjects. Let this therefore be the Prince's Study, to make himself at once lov'd and fear'd: lov'd, as the Protector of his People; fear'd, as the Soul of the Law, upon which all their Lives and Estates depend: lov'd for his Rewards, fear'd for his Punishments: lov'd for his Goodness, fear'd for his Authority: lov'd as a Promoter of Peace, fear'd as Arbiter of War. So that the good in loving him may find cause to fear: the Bad in fearing him may find something to love in him. This Fear is as necessary to the preservation of the Sceptre, as that which proceeds from the Pride, Injustice, and Tyranny of the Prince, is prejudicial and dangerous to it, in leading to Despair (9). The one procures his Liberty with the Prince's Ruin; God breaking the Staff of the wicked, and the Sceptre of such as rule with too much severity (10).

(7) *Timore Princeps aciem authoritatis suæ non patitur hebescere.* Cic. 1. Cat. (8) Ps. 22. 4. Exod. 19. (9) *Ita agere in subjectis, ut magis vereantur severitatem, quam ut sævitiam ejus detestentur.* Colum. (10) Isa. 14. 5, 6.

Whereas

Whereas the other by conforming himſelf to Reaſon, ſtudies to avoid his Anger and Puniſhment. This Fear is of the ſame brood with Love. For there can be no Love without fear of loſing the Object lov'd, and care to continue in its favour. But ſince 'tis not ſo much in the Prince's power to beget Love as Fear, 'tis better for him to ground his ſecurity on this than that alone, which as the product of the Will is various and inconſtant; nor is any artificial Flattery, any forc'd Complaiſance ſufficient to gain the Hearts of all. That Prince I take for a great Governour, who alive is fear'd, and dead, lov'd by his Subjects; as *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* was, for if he be not lov'd, 'twill ſuffice that he is eſteem'd and fear'd.

EMBLEM XXXIX.



THere is an ancient Medal to be ſeen, upon the Reverſe of which is engraven a flaſh of Lightning upon an Altar, to ſignifie, that a Prince's ſeveri-

ty ought to yield to Prayers: an Emblem offensive to the Eyes, the Lightning of Punishment being represented so lively and so near to Pardon, that fear may be apt to dash all hope in the goodness of the Altar. And though it be fit sometimes, that the looks of the Prince before whom the criminal bends, should at once represent the Terror of Justice, and Mildness of Mercy; yet this is not always proper, for that were contrary to the advice of the H. Spirit, who would have Life and Clemency shine in a King's Countenance (1). In this Emblem therefore, instead of the Lightning I have plac'd upon the Altar the Golden Fleece, introduc'd by *Philip* the Good Duke of *Burgundy*, not to signifie, as many imagin, the fabulous Fleece of *Colchos*, but that of *Gideon*, which for a token of Victory was moistned with the Dew of Heaven, when all the Country about it was dry (2). A Symbol whereby Meekness and Humility is express'd, as the same is signified by that immaculate Lamb the Son of God, offer'd for the World's Salvation. The Prince is a Victim devoted to Fatigues and Dangers for the common good of his Subjects. A precious Fleece, rich in Dew and other Blessings of Heaven. Here they ought at all times to find wherewithal to quench their Thirst, to redress their Grievances; let him be always affable, always sincere and benign towards them, which will be more effectual than severity. Upon the sight of *Alexander*'s pleasing Looks, the Conspirators immediately threw down their Arms. The serenity of *Augustus* tied the hands of the *Gaul*, who went to throw him down a Precipice in the *Alps*. The modest and sweet Temper of King *Ordonno* the first strangely won the Hearts of his Subjects. *Sancho* the Third was called the *Desired*, not so much for the shortness of his Life, as for his Affability. And the *Arragonians* received *Ferdinand* the Infant, King *Martin*'s Nephew to the Crown, upon a liking they took to his obliging Demeanour. Modesty and good Humour all must love. Obedience is sufficiently heavy and odious of it self; let not the Prince add Rigour to it; for that is a File, wherewith natural Liberty generally

(1) Prov. 16. 15. (2) Jud. 6. 37.

cuts

cuts the chains of Slavery. If Princes in Adverſity think Complaiſance and Humanity to be uſed for a remedy, why ſhould it not as well in Proſperity for a Preſervative? The benign Aſpect of the Prince gains a pleaſing Empire over mens minds; 'tis a diſſimulation of Sovereignty.

By Complacency, I do not here mean that which is ſo vulgar, that it begets Contempt, but which has ſo agreeable a mixture of Gravity and Authority, as leaves room for Love, but a Love attended with reſpect: for where this is wanting, that is apt to turn too familiar and aſpire to an Equality. And if the auguſt part of Majeſty be not maintain'd, there will be no difference between the Prince and Subject (3). Some ornament of the Perſon (as has been before hinted) and a well temper'd Gravity is requiſite to ſupport the Royal Dignity; for I can by no means approve of a Prince's making himſelf ſo familiar with every one, that it may be ſaid of him as it was of *Agricola*, who was ſo plain in his dreſs, ſo condeſcending and familiar, that many ſought his Fame in his perſon, but few found it (4). For what is common, no one admires, and reſpect is the genuine effect of admiration. Some grave ſeverity muſt appear in the Prince's face, and ſomething extraordinary in his Carriage and Royal Port to ſhew ſupreme power; but this ſeverity ſhould be ſo qualified by Sweetneſs, that jointly they may beget Love and Reverence in the Subject, not Fear (5). The Sword has been often drawn in *France* againſt the Regal Majeſty, for being too familiar. Affability muſt not diminiſh Authority, nor Severity Love; a thing *Tacitus* admir'd in *Agricola*, (6.) and commended in the Emperor *Titus*, who appear'd affable to his Soldiers without deroga-

(3) *Comitas facile fauſtum omne atterit, & in familiari conſuetudine agrè cuſtodias illud opinionis auguſtum.* Herod lib. 1. (4) *Cultu modicus, ſermone facilis; adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem æſtimare mos eſt, viſo aſpectoque Agricola, quærerent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (5) *Et videri velle non aſperum, ſed cum gravitate honeſtum, & talem, ut eum non timeant obvii, ſed magis revereantur.* Ariſt. Pol. lib. 5. c. 11. (6) *Nec illi quod rariſſimum eſt, aut facilitas authoritatem, aut ſeveritas amorem diminuit.* Tac. in vit. Agr.

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ting from his Authority as General (7). Let the Prince compose his Looks, that they may at once assert Authority and invite Love; let him appear grave, not austere; animate, not drive into Despair: looking always with a gracefull, agreeable Smile, using words complaisant, and gravely courteous. Some think themselves no Princes, except they shew something irregular in their Expressions, Looks and Port, contrary to the common way of other men: so ignorant Statuaries think the art and perfection of a Coloss, consists in having bloated Cheeks, blubber Lips, lowring Brows and squint Eyes.

True Greatness doth not consist in mighty State, †
In lofty Mein and Words, or haughty Gate.

King *Ahasuerus* was of so terrible an Aspect, that Queen *Hester* coming into his presence fell into a Swoon (9), and had not recovered, but that the King, his Spirit being changed by a divine Impression (10), held out the Scepter (11), to shew her it was but a piece of gilded Wood, and himself a Man, not a Vision as she imagined (12). If Majesty too severe and disorderly could produce this Effect in a Queen, what will it in a private person oppressed with Poverty and Affliction? The Holy Scriptures call a Prince Physician (13), and Father (14), and neither this cures nor that governs with Inhumanity.

But if upon occasion, the Prince frowns upon a Subject, let his Reprimands begin with an Encomium on his Virtues, afterwards laying before him the Deformity of his Crime, and thus strike him with a generous Fear, in as much as the shadow of Vice is most conspicuous when oppos'd to the light of Vertue; care also should be taken, that the reproof be not so harsh and publick, that the Subject losing his Reputation, shall withal, lose all hopes of retrieving it,

(7) *Atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se, promptumque armis ostentabat, comitate & alloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, in gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.* Tac. 5. hist. † Claud. (9) Hesther 15. 11. (10) Ibid. (11) Ibid. (12) Ibid. (13) Isai. 3. 7. (14) Eccl. 4. 10.

and

and so obstinately persist in his fault. Let Anger therefore and Mildness, Punishment and Rewards be so intermixed, as in the Golden Fleece, the Steels and Flints are knit together, and between them Flames of Fire, to signifie that the Prince's Heart should resemble the Fire-stone or Flint, which keeps the sparks of its Anger shut up, least they should hurt any one rashly; yet in such a manner, that if it happen to be struck by Injury or Contempt, it immediately breaks out into fire of Revenge and Justice, yet those not so quick in execution, but it has the Dew of the Fleece at hand to extinguish, at least to moderate them. God said to *Ezekiel*, *as Adamant and Flint have I made thy fore-head* (15), signifying by that the constancy of Justice, and by this the fire of Piety. But if the Prince cannot break his rough and savage Nature, let him at least keep an obliging Family to supply his place, giving a courteous reception to all Business and Petitions. A Prince is often beloved or hated upon account of his Servants; they very much cloak their Master's roughness, if they have the skill to moderate it, or to excuse it by their Affability and Discretion.

Some Nations hide the Royal Majesty behind Veils and Curtains when he gives Audience, without exposing him to the people. A Custom inhumane to the Prince, severe and cruel to the Subjects, who usually find comfort in their Prince's presence, if not in his hands. This Retreat may make the Prince more fear'd, but never more beloved. 'Tis through the Eyes and Ears that Love strikes the Heart. What we neither see nor hear, we can't love. A Prince who refuses the sight and speech of his Subjects, refuses to hear their Necessities and to remedy them; the Tongue is an easie instrument, that ought to reconcile the Minds of all: let not the Prince make it harsh and dis-agreeable. King *John* the First, because he was short, and had an impediment in his Speech, lost the *Portuguese* in his Pretension to that Crown, upon the death of King *Peter*.

'Tis not sufficient for the Prince to dispatch business by Memorials and Petitions, for by them the Sentiments are

(15) Ezek 3. 9.

not

not so well expres's'd. They not being attended with Sighs and other moving Actions, they are but dry Tears, and have not that force upon the Prince.

The doors of Temples are always open, so also should be those of Palaces; for Princes are God's Vicegerents, and the Altars (as we have said) which the people fly to in their Afflictions and Calamities. 'Twould be a scandalous thing for a Soldier to find it more easie to charge through a Squadron of Pikes, than to come to the presence through the midst of *Swiss* and *Dutch* Guards, who, like armed Hedghogs, are neither gain'd by Prayers nor Civility. *Let people come to me*, says the Emperor *Rodolphus*, *for I am not Emperor to be shut up in a box.* This retirement makes the mind savage (16). Attention to Government, and Communication soften the temper and render it easie. Princes, like Hawks, are tam'd by the assiduity of Affairs, and by familiarity with Men. The Kingdom of *Leon* rebell'd against King *Ramirez* the Third, for his difficulty of Access. King *Ferdinand* the Holy was deny'd to none, and every one had admittance even to his most private Apartment: The Kings *Alphonso* the Twelfth, and *Henry* the Third, gave publick Audience three times a Week, as did also their Catholick Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* †. Nature has put doors to the Eyes and Tongue, but has left the Ears open, that they may be ready to hear at all times. Let not a Prince then stop 'em, but hearken favourably to those that would speak to him. Let him comfort either by Reward or Hope, for that is one kind of satisfaction which supports Merit. Let him not always use set Forms and general Answers; for those which are given to all satisfie none, nor is it a small trouble to the Petitioner to receive an answer that he knew before: Let him not always hear, let him ask sometimes (17), for he who does not enquire, will never be well inform'd. Let him throughly know the state of affairs, and let his Audiences be instructive, not merely ceremonial; as were those of *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonso* King

(16) *Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur.* Tac. 4. Hist. † Mar. hist. Hisp. (17) Eccl. 23. 12.

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of *Arragon*, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, by which they were beloved and reſpected by their Subjects, and eſteem'd by Strangers. As the Audience ſhould be eaſie, ſo it ought alſo to be ſpeedy; for the delay of a benefit diminiſhes the Obligation. Tho' there are ſome affairs of that Nature, that 'tis better to let time undeceive them, than either the Prince or his Miniſters. For all had rather be entertain'd with Hope, than be diſpatch'd with Deſpair, which in prudent Courts is found, not given.

I don't approve of the Prince's expoſing himſelf in the Streets and publick Places, for the People; 'tis true, admire him the firſt time, obſerve him the ſecond, and ſlight him the third (18). That which is not ſeen is reſpected moſt (19), and the Eyes often deſpiſe what the opinion eſteem'd. 'Tis not convenient the people ſhould know whether the chain of their Slavery be of Iron or of Gold, paſſing judgment upon the parts and qualifications of the Prince. We reſpect that moſt which is fartheſt diſtant (20). Some Nations take the Prince's Affability and Complaiſance for a Vice. Others diſlike his reſervedneſs, and would have him mild and courteous, as the *Portugueſe* and the *French*. The Extreams in one and t'other are always dangerous, and he will be beſt able to moderate them, who in his Actions and Government, remembers that he is both Prince and Man.

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(18) *Continuus aſpectus minus verendos magnos homines ipſa ſocietate facit.* Liv. (19) *Arcebantur conſpectu, quo venerationis plus ineſſet.* Tac. 4. hiſt. (20) *Cui major è longinquo reverentia.* Tac. 1. ann.

EMBLEM XL.

THE Scriptures call Princes Mountains, and the reſt of Mankind, Hills and Valleys (1). This compariſon comprehends the great Affinity between them; for Mountains are Princes of the Earth, as being nearer Heaven, and ſuperiour to the other works of Nature, as alſo for their Liberality, by which from their own generous Bowels, they ſupply with continual Streams the droughty Plains and Vallies beneath, cloathing them with Flowers and Verdure, this being the true property of Princes. By this vertue more than any is a Prince ally'd to God, who is ever giving to all plentifully (2); 'tis this renders obedience more prompt, for a Preſent from him who could command, forces Obligation. Subjection is agreeable when 'tis beneficial.

(1) Ye Mountains of *Iſrael*, hear the word of the Lord God, thus ſaith the Lord God to the Mountains, and to the Hills, to the Rivers, and to the Valleys, *Ezek.* 6. 3. (2) James 1. 5.

King

King *Charles* of *Navarre*, call'd the Noble, gain'd the Love of all by his Liberality. King *Henry* the Second did thereby wipe out the Murder of his Brother King *Peter*, and eſtabliſhed his Right to the Crown. What cannot a liberal Prince do? What can't a golden Scepter oblige to? Even Tyranny (3) is conniv'd at and born with, when the Prince knows how to give, eſpecially when it gains the Applauſe of the people, by ſupplying the publick Neceſſities, and rewarding perſons of Merit. This vertue, in my opinion, maintain'd *Tiberius* in the Empire, for this he always practis'd (4). But there is nothing more pernicious to a Prince, than Liberality and Goodneſs (for they uſually go together) if not uſed with Moderation. *Liberality*, ſays King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, *becomes all men of power, but principally a King, when he uſes it to purpoſe, and as he ſhould. Garcias Sancho*, King of *Navarr*, loſt his Subjects affections, by the ſame Liberality with which he hop'd to have gain'd them; for to maintain it, he oppreſt them with Taxes and Impoſitions. Prodigality is little diſtant from Rapine or Tyranny; for when the Treaſury is drain'd by Ambition, it muſt of neceſſity be recruited by ill and indirect means (5). *He who gives more than he is able*, ſays *Alphonſo* the Wiſe, *is not liberal but prodigal; and when his own ſtock fails, he will be obliged to make uſe of others; ſo that if on one ſide he makes Friends by what he gives, he on th'other ſide makes Enemies by what he takes away. Diego d'Arias*, Treaſurer to King *Henry* the Fourth, leaſt he ſhould fall into this inconvenience, repreſented to him the Extravagance of his Liberality, and that 'twas convenient, that his Retinue ſhould be reduc'd to a leſſer number, and that the Salaries allow'd to ſuch as did not actually ſerve, or were any ways incapacitated, might be taken off: to whom the King made this Anſwer, *I too, were I* Arias, *ſhould more reſpect my Money than my Liberality; you ſay well as to your ſelf, but as for me, I'll act as becomes a King, without fear of poverty, or expoſing*

(3) Prov. 19. 6. (4) *Quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum cæteras exueret.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Ac velut perfringere ærarium: quod ſi ambitione exhauſerimus, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit.* Tac. 2. ann

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my ſelf to the neceſſity of raiſing new Taxes. 'Tis the duty of a King to give, and to meaſure his Authority by the publick Good, not his own particular, which is the true fruit of Riches. To ſome we give becauſe they are good, to others, that they mayn't be bad. Words truly worthy a King, if he had been guided by theſe conſiderations, but his gifts were always exceſſive and without order, without the leaſt regard to the Merit of the Party, as his Brother-in-law King *Ferdinand* obſerved in one of his Laws, ſaying, *That he gave Rewards for Shew not for Merit.* Whence we may obſerve the circumſpection a Prince ought to obſerve in his Liberality, for fear of giving occaſion to his Subjects to acknowledge his Authority, only to receive from him, not to obey him. An extravagant Subject ruins only himſelf. But a Prince, himſelf and State too. The Treaſury would be ſoon at an ebb, if the Prince ſhould be extravagantly liberal, without conſidering, that they are the Magazines for publick Neceſſities. The Mountains don't ſquander away the Snow which the Vapours of the Fields and Valleys heap upon its top, but on the contrary, preſerve it againſt Summer, and then in gentle Streams returns it upon the ſame grounds it was attracted from. They don't deſcend all at once, for ſo they would not anſwer their deſign, and would be ſlighted as uſeleſs, for Liberality is the greateſt Enemy to Liberality; nor do they immediately mix with the Rivers leaving the Plains and Vallies dry, as Princes uſually do, who give to the Rich what ought to be diſtributed among the Poor, and drain the thirſty ſands to ſupply the brimfull Lakes, which have no need of it. 'Tis a great fault to gain the favour of the Rich at the expence of the poor; and by vain extravagance to oppreſs the body of the State, whoſe ruin is always promoted by the pride and vanity of a few. The people cannot brook to ſee that power vainly ſquander'd away, which ought to be employ'd to the preſervation of them, and the Prince's dignity. The rewards of a Prodigal are not eſteem'd, becauſe they are common, and proceed from the vice of Extravagance, not the vertue of Liberality, and by giving all to a few he offends many; that which is given to ſome particular ones, being wanted in general by all. He who

gives

gives without care or choice, enriches indeed, but rewards not: to give to those who deserve, 'tis necessary to be sparing to others. So that a Prince ought to use great Prudence and Judgment in the Distribution of Rewards (6). For when they are well distributed, though they fall on but few, they affect many. The Scriptures command all Offerings to be made with Salt, which is the same as Prudence (7), equally distant from Prodigality and Avarice. But because a Prince ought to be generous to all, let him imitate *Aurora*, which, as it passes, always leaves something, tho' but Dew and Flowers. Nay often satisfies only with its Beauty and Pleasantness. Let him give to all, but with such Moderation, that without putting it out of his power to give more, he may content them. Some by Presents, some by Words, and some by Affability (8); for oftentimes the Eyes give more than the Hands. Liberality is the only Vertue, which should be sometimes in the opinion of others, more than in the person of the Prince; Experience teaching us, that 'tis sufficient that he express some Demonstrations, with such Address, that he may be generally esteem'd liberal; so that he must avoid Refusals, for 'tis a great trouble to receive them from a Prince. What he cannot give to day, he may give to morrow; and if he cannot, 'tis better to let time discover it than to tell it himself. He who refuses, either does not distinguish Merit, or shews his want of Power or Will, and neither of these Declarations become a Prince, whose Power and Grandure the Petitioner acknowledges.

Let a Prince be generous in the Reward of Vertue, but let it be with Offices and Imployments, and other Revenues already allotted to Liberality, not with the Crown-Rents, and Treasury reserv'd for greater uses. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was very liberal, but not to the Prejudice of the Crown. He was (at his first coming to the Crown) slow in the Distribution of Offices, the better to gain mens minds, and to reward those who had followed his Party. He knew with great Prudence to mingle Liberality with Frugality.

(6) Psal. 98, 4. (7) Levit. 2, 14. Eccl. 35. 11. (8) Eccl. 35. 11.

Of which he has not only left us an Example but alſo a Law, in theſe words: *Kings ought not to be ſo generous and bountifull, as that it may be term'd Extravagance; for this vertue of Liberality ought to be uſed with order and meaſure, without Detriment to the Crown and Royal Dignity* †. To lay up the better to employ, is not Avarice, but premeditated Liberality. To give inconſiderately, is either Vanity or Folly. By this Parſimony King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe rais'd the Monarchy, and loſt the Crown by his profuſe Extravagance; one of the principal Complaints the Kingdom made againſt him, was, That he had given the Empreſs *Martha* thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, to redeem her Husband *Baldwin*, whom the Sultan of *Ægypt* retain'd Priſoner; in which he was more vain than prudent. King *Henry* the Second found the damage of having weakned the power of his Crown by his too great Bounty, and therefore revok'd it by his laſt Will. Time and Opportunity ought to guide Princes in their Liberality; ſometimes it ought to be moderated, when the Expences of War, and the publick Neceſſities are great, and to be apply'd to avert Dangers, and to facilitate Deſigns; in which he ſaves moſt, who ſpends moſt: for he who gives by little and little, ſpends his Money, without attaining his end. War is avoided, and Victory and Peace purchaſed by Liberality (9).

The Prodigality of a Prince may be corrected by committing the management of his Treaſures to thrifty frugal Miniſters, as may his Avarice by generous ones. 'Tis neceſſary ſometimes to let a Prince ſee the ſumm of his Liberality; for Grants are made ſometimes without conſideration; and if the Prince kept an account of his Expences he would doubtleſs moderate them; and 'tis not always Liberality to grant Gratuities, for Avarice is often vanquiſh'd by Importunity, or ſometimes weary with contending, grants them through Deſpair.

'Tis natural to all Princes to give to thoſe who have moſt; I know not whether through Fear or Eſteem of Power. This that great Courtier *Joſeph* well underſtood, when cal-

† L. 3. tit. 10. lib. 5. Recop. (9) Prov. 22. 9.

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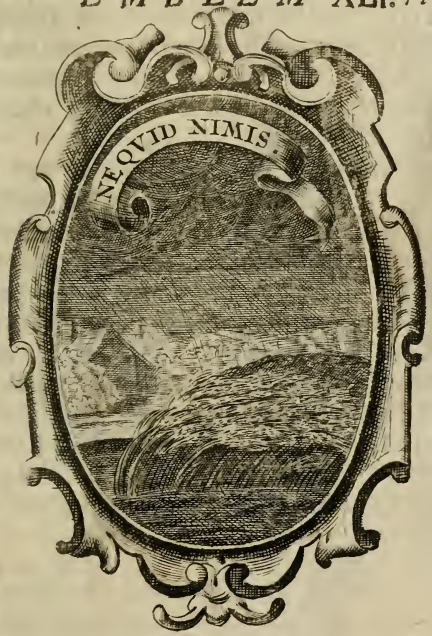
ling his Father and Brothers into *Ægypt*, and offering them in *Pharaoh*'s name all the Good of that Kingdom (10), he bid them bring with them all the Riches and Goods that they had (11); knowing, that if they came rich, the King would be more liberal to them; so that he who expects Bounty from a Prince, must not represent to him his Poverty and Misery. There are no more ready means to have, than to have (12).

(10) Gen. 45. 18. (11) Ibid. ver. 20. (12) Luke 19. 26.

EMBLEM XLI. 41



THE Motto of this Emblem has been famous to all Antiquity. Some attribute it to *Bias*, to *Pythagoras*, *Thales* and *Homer*; but I think 'tis more reasonably ascrib'd to the *Delphick* Oracles, for it seems rather a Divine than Humane Sentence, fit to be engraven on all the Crowns, Sceptres, and Rings of Princes. To this

is reduc'd the whole Science of Government, which consists in avoiding Extreams, and loves the middle, where Vertue keeps its Sphere. 'Twas ask'd *Socrates*, Which was the propereſt Vertue for a young Man, and he answer'd, *Nothing to Exceſs*, by which he comprehended all. To this Motto the body of the present Emblem seems well suited; Corn lay'd by the violence of unseasonable Rain, when gentle Dews were sufficient (1). Honours by being too great suit ill with Subjects, and rather disgrace than adorn them. There are some favours so out of season, that they pass for Injuries; What avails it for the Prince to do a benefit, if by his austere Looks and rugged Words, he seems, as 'twere, to throw it at one, or does it so unseasonably, that it does no kindness. The Benefit and Favour is lost, and the hand abhorr'd that gave it. Which made King *Alphonso* the Wise say, *That Rewards should be given so* à propos, *that they may be beneficial to the Receiver* †.

As there are errors in Exceſs of Rewards and Favours, so there is also in Punishments. Such an exact Rigour better becomes a Minister of Justice than a Prince; he is not at his Liberty, but the Prince has the Keys of the Law in his own hand. 'Tis not Justice which is too severe, nor Mercy which is not moderate, and so of other Vertues.

The same Moderation a Prince out to observe in the arts of Peace and War, so guiding the Chariot of the Government, as they did in the Games of old, that the Wheels may not touch the Goals, for so they would be broken; the art of the ancient Racers consisted, in measuring the distance so exactly, as to pass as near as possible, without touching either end.

What a Prince ought to take most care of, is the Moderation of his Passions, governing them with such Prudence, that he may neither desire, hope, love or fear with too much Ardour and Violence, rais'd by the Will not by

(1) *Magni animi eſt magna contemnere, prudentis eſt mediocria malle, quam nimia; iſta enim utilia ſunt; illa quòd ſuperfluunt nocent. Si ſegetem nimia ſternit ubertas, ſic Rami onere franguntur, ſic ad maturitatem non pervenit nimia fœcunditas*, Sen. Epiſt. 39. † L. 1. tit. 21. p. 2.

Reaſon. The deſires of private perſons may be eaſily accompliſh'd, but thoſe of Princes not, for thoſe are proportion'd to their conditions, and theſe are uſually greater than the force of their Grandure, tending always to Extreams. Almoſt all Princes either ruin themſelves, or run into great inconveniences, through Exceſs of Ambition, mans deſire being unlimited, and the poſſibility of things very narrow, it rarely happens that the firſt are meaſured by the latter, or that there is any Juſtice between them. Hence Princes ſeek pretences to rob their Neighbours, nay their greateſt Friends, aſpiring ever at the enlargement of their State, without meaſuring their bodies with their Strength, and their Government with Humane Capacity, which cannot maintain all that may be acquired. The Grandure of Empires lies upon their own Shoulders, and are always ready to fall;oppreſs'd with their own weight. Let Princes therefore endeavour to maintain their States, which either Succeſſion or Election has given them; and if any juſt occaſion ſhall offer of enlarging them, let them make uſe of it a God's name, but with ſuch caution, as the Event ſhall ſhew to Prudence.

Ambition is not leſs dangerous in the Exceſs of its Fears than of its Deſires, eſpecially in that which is acquired by Violence. Fear ſuggeſts no means which are not immediately made uſe of for its preſervation. There is none of the line of the party wrong'd, or any one who has the leaſt pretenſion to the State, though never ſo remote, but is fear'd. Tyranny uſually propoſes nothing leſs than a general ruin. Thus *Mucianus* practis'd, killing the Son of *Vitellius* (2). The ſame alſo is taught in the School of *Machiavell*, whoſe Scholars forgetting the Example of *David*, who ſought out *Saul*'s Relations, that they might partake of his Mercy (3), follow that of ſome Tyrants, as if all were not ruin'd by theſe pernicious practices; and if any one has been preſerv'd (as we ſhall obſerve) 'twas by changing them for the better. Moſt Kingdoms are augmented by Uſurpation, and after-

(2) *Manſuram diſcordiam obtendens, ni ſemina belli reſtrinxiſſet.* Tac. 4. ann. (3) 2 Sam 9 3.

wards maintain'd by Juſtice, and legitimated by time. Extreme violence is extreme danger. *Cyrus* invaded *Lydia*, and diſpoſſeſs'd King *Cræſus*. But had he had any of our Politicians, they would have advis'd him, for his greater Security, to have taken him off. Yet *Cyrus* reſtor'd him one City, by which he might ſupport his Royal Dignity; and 'tis certain, he had provok'd the Hatred and Arms of all *Greece*, if he had ſhew'd himſelf cruel (4). Tyranny is equally hatefull to God and Man; nor are there wanting in ſuch caſes, ſome mild means, by which the mind may be diverted, from ſhedding Blood, from breaking the Line of Succeſſion, from diminiſhing, or transferring the greatneſs of States, and taking off thoſe who may aſpire to the Crown; which had they been obſerved in *Portugal*, that people had never revolted.

When the danger is ſo evident, that it obliges to Defence and natural Preſervation, the Prince ought to ſtrike at the Root, that it may not ſprout again, keeping a watchfull Eye upon it, leaſt it ſhould happen, as it did to the *Philiſtin* Princes, who having cut off *Sampſon*'s hair, wherein lay all his Strength, began to ridicule him, not conſidering that it might grow again, as it afterwards did (5), when he pull'd the Temple upon their Heads (6), killing more Enemies dying than he had done living (7).

Inordinate Ambition moreover perſwades the Oppreſſion of the liberty of the people, the humbling of the Nobility, the weakning of the potent and rich, and the reduction of all to the Royal Prerogative, thinking that the more abſolute, the more firm it is; and that the lower the people are reduc'd, the higher its Glory riſes; an error by which Flattery gains the Hearts of Princes, and leads them into great dangers. 'Tis Modeſty that preſerves Empires, ſo correcting the Prince's Ambition, that it may maintain it within the bounds of Reaſon, the power of his Dignity, the honour of the Nobility, and the liberty of the people, for no Monarchy is laſting which is not mixt, that is com-

(4) *Hæc clementia non minus utilis victori quam victo fuit.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (5) Judg. 16. 21. (6) Ibid. (7) Ibid.

poſ'd

pos'd of Ariſtocracy and Democracy (8). Abſolute Power is Tyranny. Whoever promotes that promotes his own ruin. A Prince ought not to govern as the Lord, but as the Father, the Protector and Governour of his States (9).

Theſe diſorders of Ambition proceed from a long uſe and abuſe of Dominion, which covets all for it ſelf; in which 'tis neceſſary Princes ſhould conquer themſelves, and ſubmit to reaſon, however difficult the attempt appear; for many can conquer others, few themſelves. This Victory is of Force, that of Reaſon. 'Tis not Valour to conquer in Battle, but to ſubdue the Paſſions. Obedience and Neceſſity make Subjects humble and modeſt; Superiority and Power render Princes proud; Pride has deſtroy'd more Kingdoms than the Sword; more Princes have ruin'd themſelves than have been undone by others. The remedy conſiſts in the Prince's knowledge of himſelf, by retiring within himſelf, and conſidering, that though the Scepter diſtinguiſhes him from his Subjects, they much exceed him in endowments of Mind, more noble than his Grandure. That if Reaſon might take place, the moſt accompliſh'd man would be King. That the hand with which he governs the World, is of Clay, and Subject to the Leproſie, and all other human Miſeries, as God gave *Moſes* to underſtand (10), that knowing his own Miſeries, he might pity thoſe of others (11). That a Crown is a very unſafe Poſſeſſion, for between the utmoſt height, and the loweſt fall, there is no Interpoſition (12). That he depends upon the Will of others, ſince if they would not obey, he would be but like other men. The greater the Prince ſhall be, the more he ought to eſteem this Modeſty, ſince God himſelf does not

(8) *Quæ ex pluribus conſtat reſp melior eſt* Ariſt. 2 Pol. c. 4. (9) *Huc enim ſunt omnia reducenda, ut iis qui ſub imperio ſunt, non Tyrannum, ſed patrem-familias, aut regem agere videatur*, &c. Ariſt. Pol. 5. c. 11. (10) Exod. 4. 6. (11) Hebr. 5. 2. (12) *Quod regnum eſt, cui parata non ſit ruina, & proculcatio, & dominus, & carnifex? Nec iſta intervallis diviſa, ſed horæ momentum intereſt inter ſolium, & aliena genua.* Senec.

disdain it (13). Modesty which hides Greatness under it, is like rich Enamel upon Gold, which gives it the greater Value and Esteem. *Tiberius* had no Artifice more cunning, than to appear modest to gain Esteem. He severely reprehended those who call'd his Occupations Divine, and him Lord (14). When he went into the Courts of Justice, he would not suffer the President to quit his seat, but sat down upon one corner of the Bench (15). He who is gotten to the highest step among men, cannot rise but by stooping. Let all Princes learn Modesty of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, who was so familiar and affable to all, that he made himself lov'd rather than reverenc'd. In him Goodness and Modesty were conspicuous, and Majesty found but by Attention: He was not the Imperial Eagle with a sharp Beak, and bare Talons, threatning all, but the tender Pelican, continually digging his own Intrails to feed his people as his own young. It cost him no pains to humble his Grandure, and make himself equal to others. He was not the Master but Father of the World, and the excess of Modesty often causes Contempt, to the ruin of Princes, to him it created more Respect, and oblig'd all Nations to his Service and Defence. See the force of true Goodness, and of a great Soul, which triumphs over it self, and is superiour to Fortune! He has left us in the present Emperour his Son, the lively Portraicture of all these qualities, with which he steals the Hearts both of Friends and Enemies. There is no vertue more agreeable to a Prince than Modesty, all others would be foolish in him, if that did not adjust his Looks and Actions, not permitting them to exceed themselves.

In Government 'tis very convenient not to touch upon Extremes, for too great Condescension is not less prejudicial than a haughty Grandure. Monastick Communities may perhaps suffer the Rigour of Obedience, but not popular ones. Such rigid Discipline may keep a few in awe, but

(13) *Modestiæ fama, quæ neque summis mortalium spernenda est, & à diis æstimatur.* Tac. 15. ann. (14) *Acerbéque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes, ipsumque Dominum dixerunt.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Assidebat in cornu Tribunalis.* Tac. 1. ann.

not

not many. Civil Happineſs conſiſts in vertue, which conſiſts in the middle, as does civil Life and the Government of States, for the nature of Empire is ſuch, that the people may take it away, without being ruin'd by too much Licence, or render'd obſtinate by too much Rigour. In Government we ought not to conſider what ſhould be, but what may be (16). Even God adapts himſelf to human Frailty.

Between theſe Extremes alſo the body of the Commonwealth ſhould be conſtituted, care being taken that there mayn't be too great difference in the conditions of the Citizens; for exceſs or inequality of Riches or Nobility, if it be much, creates in ſome Pride, and in others Envy, and from thence proceed Enmity and Seditions (17). For there can be no Friendſhip or civil Agreement among them who are ſo unequal in their Conditions and Fortunes, for all hate equality, and covet more, either to govern as Lords, or obey as Slaves (18). Some too haughty contemn the Laws, and deſpiſe Obedience; Others too ſervile, know not how to bear it, and have neither Fear of Infamy nor Puniſhment, hence there would become a Community of Lords and Slaves, but without reſpect between themſelves, ſince neither would know how to meaſure themſelves by their own condition. Thoſe of the loweſt quality pretend to be as thoſe of higher. Thoſe who are equal or ſuperiour in one thing, think they are in all. Thoſe who have the advantage in all, can't contain themſelves, and deſpiſing every one would proudly lord it over them, without Obedience to him who commands, or adapting themſelves to the Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms of the State, whence proceeds its ruin and converſion into other Forms (19), for all ſigh and are

(16) *Non enim ſolum reſpublica, quæ optima ſit, conſiderari debet, ſed etiam quæ conſtitui poſſit, præterea quæ facilior & cunctis civitatibus communior habeatur.* Ariſt. lib. 4 Pol. 6. c. 2. (17) *Præterea ſeditiones non modo propter fortunarum, ſed etiam propter honorum inæqualitatem exiſtunt.* Ariſt. lib. 2. c. 5. (18) *Sed jam hæc conſuetudo in civitatibus invaluit, ut homines, æqualitatem odio habeant, & malint, aut imperio potiri, aut ſi victi fuerint, imperio ſubeſſe.* Ariſt. lib 4. Pol. c. 11. (19) *Nam qui virtute præſtant, iniquo animo ſibi indigniores æquari paterentur: quamobrem ſæpè conſpirare, & ſeditiones commovere notuntur.* Ariſt. Pol. 2. c. 5.

uneaſie

uneasie under it. And though it be impossible intirely to remedy this contention in States, because of the difference of condition of the parts of which they consist, yet are they preserv'd if it be moderate, and ruin'd if excessive. As it happens in the four Humours of the Body, though the Blood be the most noble, and the Choler the most potent, yet do they mutually preserve one another, while there is no great Inequality between them; so that State will continue long, which consists of moderate parts, and not much unequal between themselves. 'Twas the extravagant Riches of some of the Citizens which caus'd the ruin of the State of *Florence*, and is at present the cause of the troubles of *Genoua*. Because in *Venice* they are better divided, it has continued so many Ages, and if there happen any danger or inconvenience in the Government, 'tis through the too great poverty of some of its Magistrates. If any Republick has been preserv'd for all these disorders and excess of its parts, 'tis through the Prudence and Industry of the Governour, who keeps it in its Devoir, by the fear of the Laws, and other discreet means, such as not to wrong any one, nor violate the Privileges and Conveniencies of the Poor, to employ the great ones in the Administration, and in Offices; in fine not to oppress, but rather to encourage the hope of those who are of an high and enterprising Spirit. But this will continue no longer than it has prudent Governours; and because States can't be sufficiently provided for by these temporal Remedies, which depend upon chance, 'tis necessary in their first Institution, to provide means to correct these Excesses, before they happen.

EMBLEM XLII.

I Am indebted, for the body of this Emblem, to the Civility of the preſent Pope *Urban* the VIIIth. his Holineſs having been pleas'd to ſhew me upon a precious Stone, engraven in the time of the *Romans*, two Bees drawing a Plough, which was found in his time; a Preſage of the riſe of his noble and ancient Family, his Arms being joyn'd to the triumphant Yoak of the Church. Which upon Reflection put me in mind of a Prodigy of King *Wamba*, when being anointed by the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, there was ſeen to ſpring from his head a Bee, which flew ſtreight towards Heaven, prognoſticating the ſweetneſs of his Government: from whence I infer, that the Ancients would ſhew by this Emblem, how neceſſary 'twas to mingle, Profit with Pleaſure, the art of making Honey, with that of *Agricultura*. For a Motto to which, I thought the beginning of that Verſe of *Horace* would not be amiſs.

Omne

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci. Hor.

Who mixes gain with Sport gains ev'ry point.

In this consists the main art of Government; this was the first piece of Policy in the world; this the ancient Philosophy taught us, feigning that *Orpheus* made Beasts follow him, and that the very Stones danc'd to *Amphion*'s Harp, with which he built the Walls of the City of *Thebes*, to signifie that the mild instruction of those great persons were sufficient to reduce men, not less savage than Brutes, and more insensible than Stones, to the Harmony of the Laws, and civil Society †.

These Arts all States have used to instruct the people, mingling Instruction with Sport and publick Games. All *Greece* flock'd to Mount *Olympus*, to be present at the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Nemæan* and *Isthmian* Games; some out of curiosity to see them, others to obtain the propos'd Rewards, and upon this occasion they exercis'd their Strength, sacrific'd to the Gods, and treated of the most important affairs of the Government of those Provinces. Comedies and Tragedies were also invented to purge the Affections. The Gladiators of the *Romans*, and the Bull-fights of the *Spaniards*, (who also are diverted with terrible and desperate Enterprizes) were to confirm the Mind that it might not be daunted at the sight neither of Blood nor Death. Wrestling, Tilting, Horse-races *, and other such Sports, are so many Schools in which Arts military are learn'd, and the Mind at the same time recreated and diverted. The people must be drawn by Flattery and Mildness, to the Conveniencies and Designs of the Prince; they are like a Horse which being gently stroak'd into Temper takes the Bitt, and afterwards submits to Burthens and the Lash. They can't

† *Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum,*
Cædibus & fædo victu deterruit Orpheus,
Dictus ab hoc lenire Tigres, &c.

* Juego de las Cannas.

bear

bear too much Rigour, or too much Gentleneſs. Exceſs of Liberty is as dangerous to them as Exceſs of Slavery (1). Princes who have wanted this conſideration have felt the rage of the incenſed Multitude. Inveterate diſtempers are not always to be cured by the Knife and Fire. They require ſoothing Medicines, and when there is need of bitter Pills, they ſhould be well gilt, to deceive the Sight and Taſt. 'Tis not neceſſary that the people ſhould know the Ingredients of the Prince's Reſolutions and Counſels, 'tis ſufficient that they ſwallow them upon any Pretext.

The Dangers and Hardſhips of War are ſweeten'd by the mildneſs of the Prince. Thus *Germanicus* to keep the *German* Legions in obedience, and more ready for Battle, us'd to viſit the wounded Soldiers, and taking notice of their Wounds, commend their Actions, gaining ſome by hope, others by good words, and ſo made them eager to fight (2).

This goodneſs alone is not effectual, there is need alſo of ſome eminent Vertue in the Commander, that if he be beloved for that he may be reſpected for this. Many times a Prince is beloved for his extraordinary goodneſs, and deſpiſed for his Inſufficiency. Reſpect proceeds not from Love, but Admiration. He obliges all, who having courage to make himſelf fear'd, makes himſelf beloved; who knowing how to execute Juſtice, knows alſo to be merciſull. Goodneſs is often interpreted Softneſs and Ignorance, in him who has no other Vertues to recommend him. Theſe are of ſuch force in a Prince, that they ſoften his Severity and Rigour, being recompenc'd by them. Even great Vices are excus'd, or at leaſt conniv'd at in him who is Maſter alſo of great Vertues.

In Negotiations 'tis very convenient to mingle Sweetneſs with Gravity, and Jeſts with Truth, provided it be *à propos*, without Offence to good Manners, nor the Gravity of the Subject, in which the Emperor *Tiberius* was well skill'd (3).

(1) *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (2) *Circumire ſaucios, facta ſingulorum extollere, vulnera intuens, alium ſpe, alium gloria, cunctos alloquio & cura, ſibique & prælio firmabat.* Tac. 1. ann. (3) *Tiberius tamen ludibria ſeriis permiſcere ſolitus.* Tac. 6. ann.

There's

There's none can endure a melancholy roughness, a look always set to business, a grave Speech and a formal Behaviour. 'Tis Prudence sometimes to mix a little folly in Counsels(4), when 'tis well apply'd 'tis Wisdom (5). A happy thought and a word in season gains peoples Minds, and most difficult Affairs to the end proposed, and sometimes discovers the Intention, deceives Malice, diverts Offence, and prevents a positive Answer where 'tis not convenient.

We ought also in Negotiations to mingle the advantage of those whom we would perswade, shewing them that 'tis their interest as well as ours; for all are mov'd by self-interest, few by Obligation and Glory. *Sejanus*, to incite *Drusus* to the Murther of his Brother *Nero*, set before him the hopes of the Empire. The skill of a prudent Minister consists in facilitating affairs with others interests, disposing the Treaty so, that theirs and his own Prince's may seem to be the same. To desire to negotiate affairs by self-interest only, is to bring water in broken pipes; where one receives it from another, all receive Assistance and Advantage.

(4) *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem.* (5) Eccl. 10. 1.

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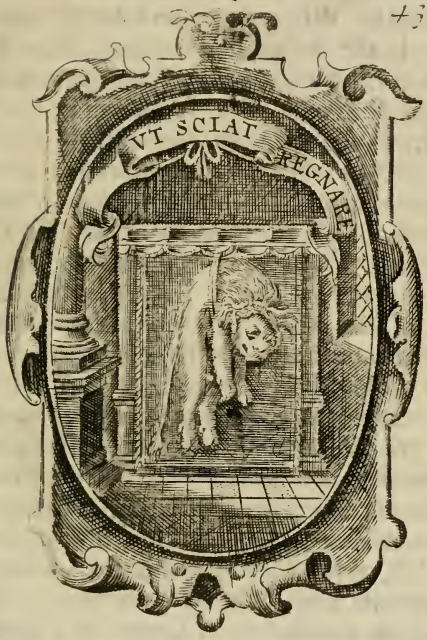
EMBLEM XLIII.



ALL things as well animate as inanimate are Leaves of this great Book of the World, the Work of Nature, wherein divine Wiſdom has written all Sciences, to teach and inſtruct us how to act. There is no moral Vertue, which is not found in Animals. Practick Prudence is born in them; in us 'tis not acquired but by Inſtruction and Experience. We may learn from them without Confuſion and Shame of our Ignorance, for he who informs them, the ſame is Author of all things. But to put on their Nature, or deſire to imitate them in acting like them irrationally, hurried by the Appetite of our Affections and Paſſions, would be giving an affront to Reaſon, the proper Gift of Man, by which he is diſtinguiſhed from other Animals, and merits the command over them. They for want of Reaſon are without Juſtice, each aiming at nothing but its own Preſervation, without reſpecting Injuries done to o-

thers.

thers. Man juſtifies his Actions, and meaſures them by Equity, doing nothing to others, which he would not have done unto himſelf. Whence may be inferr'd how impious and inhuman is the deſign of *Machiavel*, who forms his Prince upon another Suppoſition, of the Nature of the Lion and the Fox, that what he can't attain by reaſon he may by force and fraud, in which he was inſtructed by *Lyſander* General of the *Lacedæmonians*, who adviſ'd a Prince, that where the Lion's skin fail'd, he ſhould put on that of the Fox, making uſe of his Tricks and Artifices. This Doctrine is of long ſtanding. *Polybius* reprehends it in his own and the foregoing Ages (1). In this King *Saul* may be a Leſſon to all (2). This Maxim has encreas'd in time, there being no Injuſtice nor Indecency, but appears honourable to Policy, provided it be in order to Dominion (3), thinking that Prince lives precariouſly, who is tied up to Law and Juſtice (4). Whence they regard not Breach of Treaties, Faith, or Religion it ſelf, when for the Preſervation or Augmentation of Empire. Upon theſe falſe foundations Duke *Valentine* endeavour'd to raiſe his Fortune, but before he had finiſh'd it, it fell with that violence upon him, that the very Fragments and Ruins of it were loſt. How can that laſt which is founded upon Deceit and Lyes? How can that ſubſiſt which is violent? What force can there be in Contracts, if the Prince, who ſhould be their ſecurity, is himſelf the firſt that breaks them? Who will put any confidence in him? How can his Empire ſtand, who truſts more to his own Artifices than to divine Providence. Nor for all this, would I have a Prince ſo mild, as never to uſe force, nor ſo candid and ſincere, as not to know how to diſſemble, nor provide againſt Deceit, for ſo he would live expoſed to Malice, and be play'd upon by all. My deſign in this Em-

(1) *Quo Leonis pellis attingere non poteſt, principi aſſumendam Vulpinam.* Plut. (2) *Fuit, cui in tractandis negotiis dolus malus placeret, quem Regi convenire ſane nemo dixerit, etſi non deſunt, qui id tam crebro uſu hodie doli mali, neceſſarium eum eſſe dicant ad publicam rerum adminiſtrationem.* Polyb. 13. hiſt. (3) *Nihil gloriоſum niſi tutum, & omnia retinendæ dominationis honeſta.* Sal. (4) *Ubicunque tantam honeſta dominanti licet, præcario regnatur.* Sen. in Trag. Thyeſt.

blem

blem is, that he should be indued with Valour, but not with that brutish and irrational Courage of Beasts, but that which is attended by Justice, signified by the Lyon's Skin, the Emblem of Valour, and therefore dedicated to *Hercules*. Sometimes 'tis necessary for a Prince to cover his Face with a Frown, and to oppose Fraud. He should not always appear mild. There are occasions when he must put on the Lion's Skin, that his Subjects and Enemies may see his Claws; and that he may be thought so severe, that Fraud may not have the boldness to attack him with Flattery, which way it uses to tame the minds of Princes. This, it seems the *Ægyptians* would intimate, by putting a Lion's Skin upon their Prince's head. There is no Respect nor Reverence, where there is no fear. The People perceiving their Prince can't be angry, and that nothing can alter his mild Temper, always despise him; but this Severity need not immediately come to Execution. 'Tis not necessary for a Prince to be really angry, but only to appear so. The Lion without discomposing himself, or thinking of hurting any other Animals, with his very Looks infuses dread into all; such is the Majestick force of his Eyes (5). But because 'tis convenient sometimes to gild force with craft, and indignation with mildness, to dissemble a little, and accommodate himself to the times and persons: therefore in the present Device, the Lion's head is not crown'd with the little tricks of the Fox, which are mean and base, and below the Generosity and Magnanimity of a Prince, but with Serpents, the Emblem of carefull and prudent Majesty, and in the sacred Writs the Hieroglyfick of Prudence, for their cunning in defending their heads, in stopping their Ears against all Inchantments, and in other things only tending to their own preservation, not the prejudice of others. For the same reason, and the like accidents, I have made use of these words as a Motto to the present Device, *that he may know how to reign*, taken from the Motto of *Lewis* the Eleventh King of *France*, *who knows not how to dissemble, knows*

(5) A Lion which is the strongest among Beasts, and turneth not away for any. *Prov.* 30 30.

not how to reign. In which the whole art of Government is briefly comprehended; but there is need of great Prudence and Circumspection, least this Power should turn to Tyranny, and this Policy to Fraud: These Mediums nearly bordering upon Vices. *Justus Lipsius* defining Fraud in matters of Policy, says, *'tis shrewd Counsel, deviating from Vertue and the Laws, for the good of the King and Kingdom*; by which avoiding the Extremes of *Machiavel*, and finding also, that 'tis impossible for a Prince to govern without some Fraud and cunning, he advises a little, tolerates Mediocrity, but forbids Extremes; bounds very dangerous to a Prince. For who can exactly describe them? there ought not to be such Rocks so near politick Navigation. The malice of Power, and ambition of Rule, act sufficiently in many; if Fraud be vicious, 'tis vicious in its least parts, and therefore unworthy of a Prince. The worth and dignity of the Royal Purple, disdains the least spot. The minutest Atom is visible, and blemishes the Rays of these terrestrial Suns. And how can it be suffer'd that his actions should deviate from Vertue and the Laws, who is the very Soul thereof? There is no Fraud without a mixture of malice and falshood, both opposite to Royal Magnanimity; though *Plato* says, *That Falshood is superfluous in the Gods, they having no need on't, but not in Princes who have great occasion for it, and that therefore it may be allow'd them sometimes.* That which is unlawfull ought not to be allow'd, nor ought we to make use of means in their own nature wicked, to obtain just and honourable ends. Dissimulation and Cunning are then only lawfull, when they don't drive to Knavery, and prejudice the Authority and Reputation of the Prince; in which case I don't esteem them as Vices but Prudence, or the Daughters thereof, being both advantageous and necessary to a Commander: which would be, if Prudence respecting its own preservation, would make use of Fraud according to the different circumstances of time, place, and persons, so as the Heart and Tongue, the Mind and Words may ever agree. That Dissimulation ought to be avoided, which with fraudulent intentions belyes the things designed. That which would make another understand that

which

which is not, not that which would make him not understand that which is. For this end one may sometimes use indifferent and equivocating words, not with a design to cheat, but to secure ones self, and prevent being cheated, and for other lawfull ends. Thus we see the Master of truth himself pretended to his Disciples, who were going to the City *Emmaus*, that he was going farther (6). The counterfeit folly of *David* before King *Achis* (7); the pretended Sacrifice of *Samuel* (8); the Kids skins fitted to *Jacob*'s hands (9), were all lawfull Dissimulations, the intent not being to cheat, but only to hide another design, nor are they the less allowable, because one foresees that another will thereby be deceiv'd, for that knowledge proceeds not from malice, but a kind of caution.

And these arts and practices are then chiefly to be made use of, when we treat with designing and crafty Princes; for in such case, Distrust, Cunning, Hypocrisie, ambiguous Replies, prudent Equivocation, least a Prince should be insnared, and give occasion for others Plots and Machinations, defending himself with these arts, and not offending or violating his publick Faith, what is this but being upon his Guard? That Ingenuity is foolish, which frankly discovers its secret Sentiments; and the State would be in danger without some caution. 'Tis a dangerous sincerity to speak truth always, since secrecy is the chief instrument of Government. Whatever Prince intrusts a secret to another, at the same time intrusts his Sceptre too: It does not become a Prince to lye, but it does to be silent, or to conceal truth; not to trust or confide in any one rashly, but to be wary and circumspect, that he mayn't be cheated. This caution is extremely necessary for a Prince, without which he would be expos'd to many and great dangers. He

(6) And he made as though he would have gone further. *Luke* 24 28. (7) And he changed his behaviour before them, and feign'd himself mad in their hands, and scrabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his Spittle fall down upon his Beard, 1 *Sam.* 21. 13. (8) And the Lord said, take a Heifer with thee and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord, 1 *Sam* 16. 2. (9) And he put the skins of the Kids of the Goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck. *Gen.* 27. 16.

who knows and ſees moſt, believes and truſts leaſt, becauſe either Speculation, or Practice and Experience renders him cautious. Let a Prince's mind therefore be ſincere and pure; yet skill'd in the arts and practices of others. Experience will ſhew in what caſes it becomes a Prince to uſe theſe arts, that is, when he ſhall obſerve that the Malice and Stratagems of thoſe with whom he deals requires it.

In all other actions a Prince ought to diſcover a Royal Candor, ſometimes even to thoſe who would deceive him; for if they interpret it favourably, their deſigns are broken and begin to flag: beſides no Fraud is ſo generous as Truth, of which, if they can be ſure, they make him Maſter of the moſt private ſecrets of their Souls, without arming themſelves with the like practices for the future. What Nets are not ſpread, and what Stratagems contrived for the Cunning and Subtilty of the Fox? who ever ſet ſnares for the tame innocence of the Swallow?

Thoſe Princes whom the world admires for their Prudence and Conduct can't make uſe of this art; for none will believe that their actions are guided by chance or ſincerity; the demonſtrations of their truth are taken for counterfeit: In them Caution is accounted Malice; Prudence, Diſſimulation; and Circumſpection, Deceit. Some charge his Catholick Majeſty with theſe Vices, becauſe that by the natural Vivacity of his Judgment, and his continual experience in War and Peace, he was well acquainted with the treacherous dealing, unſincerity of the times, defending himſelf with ſo great Prudence, that his Enemies were either taken in their own Snares, or wholly broken by Counſel and Time. For this reaſon ſome Princes feign Sincerity and Modeſty, the better to palliate their intentions, or that Malice may not ſo eaſily trace them. So *Domitian* did (10). A Prince who would be thought wiſe in all things, is for that reaſon not ſo. To know how to be ignorant ſeaſonably is the greateſt Prudence: there's nothing more advantageous, nothing more difficult than to be wiſe with Moderation:

(10) *Simul ſimplicitatis, ac modeſtiæ imagine conditus, ſtudiumque literarum, & amorem carminum ſimulans, quo velaret animum.* Tac. 4. hiſt.

this

this *Tacitus* commends in *Agricola* (11). All conspire against the most knowing, either through Envy, or to defend their own ignorance; or perhaps, because they suspect that which they cannot comprehend. *Saul* seeing that *David* was too wise, he began to be cautious of him (12).

Other Princes appear diverted in their actions, that they may be thought to act casually and without design. But such is the Malice of Policy now a days, that it not only penetrates those arts, but cavils too at the most plain sincerity, to the great prejudice of Truth and Publick Tranquility. There being nothing that is interpreted rightly; and Truth consisting in one point, and those in the circumference, from whence Malice may take aim, being infinite, they fall into great errors, who will wrest from anothers words and actions a different sense from what they appear; and interpreting others Designs in the worst sense, cause both parties to arm themselves, and so to live in continual Distrust and Jealousie of each other. He who is most ingenious in these Suspicions is fartheſt from Truth; for by the acuteness of his wit he penetrates farther than what is generally comprehended; and we are often positive of that in others which is only a deceit of our own imagination. So to a Sailor the Rocks seem to run, when 'tis only the Ship that is in motion. The shadows of Policy are usually greater than the Body it self, and sometimes this is neglected, and this made use of, so that there often arises greater Damage from the prevention, than could arrive from the thing fear'd. How oft has a Prince, through a groundless Jealousie, declared War against him who never thought of offending him? and both taking arms, that which was at first but a slight and ill-grounded presumption, ends in a bloody War: 'tis the same with such, as with ill built Ships, which the more they sally from side to side, are the sooner lost. I don't blame Diffidence, when 'tis the Daughter of Prudence, as we said elsewhere; but a total defect of good faith, with-

(11) *Retinuitque quod difficillimum est, ex sapientia modum.* Tac in vit. Agr. (12) Wherefore when *Saul* saw that he behaved himself very wisely, he was afraid of him, 1. *Sam.* 18.15.

out which, neither Friendſhip, Society nor Covenants can be laſting. The Law of Nations would be invalid, and all things would be expos'd to Fraud and Deceit. All things are not acted with an ill intention. The greateſt Tyrant ſometimes propoſes juſt and honourable ends.

EMBLEM XLIV. 44

UNcertain and dubious is the motion of the Serpent winding it ſelf firſt one way then another, with ſuch uncertainty, that its very body knows not where it will erect its head. You'd think it made this way, and immediately it moves contrary, without leaving any tract of its paſſage, nor can the intention of its motion be diſcover'd (1). So occult ſhould be the Counſels and Deſigns of Princes. None ought to know whither they tend; they ſhould imitate God the great Governour of all things,

(1) But canſt not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. *Joh.* 3. 8.

whoſe

whose ways are past finding out (2): for which reason the Seraphim cover'd his feet with his wings (3). Princes ought so carefully to conceal their designs, that their Ministers themselves should not penetrate them; nay, that they should be the first that should believe otherwise and be deceiv'd, thereby the more naturally and effectually, without the danger of Dissimulation, which is easily discover'd to confirm and secure their real intentions, instilling the same error into others, that so it may pass current, and be believed on all sides. Thus *Tiberius* did, when some murmur'd that he did not go to pacifie the mutinous Legions in *Hungary* and *Germany*, he pretended he would go with all speed, by which deceiving the prudent, he deceiv'd also the People and Provinces (4). The same also did King *Philip* the Second, who conceal'd his designs from his own Ambassadors, pretending others, when 'twas convenient for them to believe them, and perswade others to do so. A Prince can by no means use these arts, if his ingenuity be not so cautious and circumspect, as not to discover the real motions of his mind by his manner of Government, and let his Rivals and Enemies penetrate his heart and thoughts; that he may slip out of their hands, when they think they have him secure. This method by which another is deceiv'd is rather a sort of self defence than malice, where it is used according to reason, as the greatest Heroes have always done. What necessity is there of discovering the heart, which nature has on purpose hidden within the breast? even in the most slight and frivolous affairs, 'tis pernicious to divulge them, because it gives occasion by way of discourse to discover farther. Yet though the heart be hid within the breast, its ails and distempers are discover'd by the Arteries. Execution loses its force, not without loss of the reputation of a Prince's prudence, if he divulges his designs to the people. Secret and unknown designs threaten all, and distract and puzzle an Enemy. Secrecy in War is more necessary than in other

(2) And who is able to discover his ways? *Eccl.* 16. 19. (3) And with twain he covered his feet, *Isai.* 6. 2. (4) *Primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime Provincias fefellit.* Tac. 1. ann.

Affairs. Few Enterprises unseasonably detected succeed well. How is he surpriz'd who receives the Wound before he sees the Weapon; he who will not stir till he hears the clashing of Arms!

This I would have understood of Wars against Infidels, not of those between Christians, which ought to be proclaim'd, that there may be time for satisfaction, by which the effusion of Blood may be avoided, this being required to render a War lawfull and just. In this the *Romans* were to be commended, who instituted a College of twenty Priests whom they call'd Heralds, whose business it was to proclaim War, to make Peace, and to establish Alliances: These were also Judges in such cases, and took care that the party injur'd should receive satisfaction, appointing a term of thirty three days for an amicable composition; in which time, if the disputes were not ended, they declar'd War by throwing a Spear into the Enemies Country (5), from which day commenc'd acts of Hostility and Incursions. Of these declarations there are divers examples in the Scriptures. *Jephtha* being chosen Prince of the *Israelites*, did not take up Arms against the *Ammonites*, before, by Ambassadors, he had enquir'd into the reason which mov'd them to the War (6). The method of our times is not so humane and generous. We experience the effects of War before we know the cause thereof. An unexpected and sudden Invasion makes the Injury the greater, and renders the minds of the parties implacable, this generally springs hence, that they take up arms not to satisfie Injuries, or atone for Damages receiv'd, but only from a blind Ambition to enlarge their Dominions: in which, without respect to Religion, Consanguinity or Friendship, they trample upon the most sacred Laws of Nature and Nations.

If a Prince suspects any of Infidelity, let him not immediately change the serenity of his Looks, or shew any sign of his suspicion, but rather by new Flattery and Honours endea-

(5) *Et baculum intorquens emittit in auras, Principium pugnæ.* Virg.
(6) And *Jephtha* sent Messengers unto the King of the Children of *Ammon*, saying, What hast thou to do with me, that thou art come against me to fight in my Land? *Judg.* 11. 12.

vour

vour to confirm their Minds and oblige them to Fidelity. Rigour is not always the best and safest remedy. Branches lopt off die, and revive not again. Thus *Marcellus* conniv'd at *Lucius Bancus* of *Nola*, a very rich, and withal very factious person, and though he well knew he sided with *Hannibal*, he call'd him to him, told him, how his Vertue and Valour were esteem'd by all, particularly by the *Roman* Generals, who were Witnesses of his Bravery at the Battle of *Cannæ*: he honour'd him with words, supported with hopes and promises; gave him at all times free access to his presence, and by this courteous usage so oblig'd him, that from that time the *Roman* State had not a more faithfull Friend than he. This Dissimulation requires great care and prudence, for if the Offender should mistrust it, he would interpret it a design to bring him to Punishment, and so would sooner fire his Mines, or endeavour to preserve himself by other violent means. Which is chiefly to be fear'd in Tumults and Crimes of the Multitude. Thus *Fabius Valens*, though he would not punish the Authors of a certain Commotion, yet did he permit some of them to be tried (7). But since 'tis very difficult to purge the mind of Treason once conceiv'd, and since such crimes ought not to go unpunished, 'tis then only fit to connive, when greater danger attends the declaration, or the number of Offenders makes the punishment impracticable. This *Julius Cæsar* consider'd, when he commanded some Letters from *Pompey* to the *Roman* Nobility against him, which he had intercepted, to be burnt unopen'd, thinking 'twas the mildest method of pardoning, not to know the crime. A piece of true Generosity and singular Prudence, since 'twas impossible to punish all, not to oblige himself to the inconveniencies of connivance. Those of mean condition may be made examples, and the great ones conniv'd at, till a more convenient opportunity. But where the Delinquents may be punished without danger, 'tis safer, by punishing them, to consult self-security, than to trust to Dissimulation; for this often emboldens great Spirits. *Hannibal* plotted to poison the *Carthaginian* Senate, and upon

(7) *Ne dissimulans suspectior foret.* Tac. 2. hist.

the

the discovery of the Treason, the Senators thought it sufficient to make a Law to regulate the Excess and Expences of Feasts, which gave *Hannibal* occasion to plot afresh against them.

That Art and Cunning most becomes a Prince, and that Dissimulation is most allowable and necessary, which so composes and forms the Looks, Words and Actions towards him whom it would deceive, as that he mayn't mistrust that his designs are discover'd: for by that means there will be time to search farther into them, and either to punish or elude them, while the party is not so sollicitous in the concealment of them; but if he once find himself betray'd, he begins to tremble, and thinks himself not secure, till he has put his designs in execution. This oblig'd *Agrippina* to pretend not to understand the Murther which her Son *Nero* design'd her (8). This Dissimulation or feign'd Simplicity is very necessary for Ministers who serve cunning and designing Princes, who make it their care to conceal their intentions; in this *Tiberius* was a great Master (9). The same artifice the *Roman* Senate us'd, when the same *Tiberius*, after the death of *Augustus*, let them know, to try their thoughts, that he would not accept of the Empire, it being a burthen too heavy for him; they by a studied ignorance and forc'd tears begg'd he would please to accept it, all being afraid to seem to understand his meaning (10). Unjust Princes hate those who they think understand their ill practices, and take them for Enemies. They claim an absolute Authority over mens minds, not subject to anothers understanding, they will have their Subjects Intellects at as much command as their Bodies, esteeming it part of their duty and respect not to understand their designs (11). Wherefore 'tis disallowable and dangerous to pry into the privacies and secret thoughts of Princes (12). *Tiberius* complaining

(8) *Solum insidiarum remedium esse si non intelligerentur.* Tac. 14. ann. (9) *Consulto ambiguus.* Tac. 13. ann. (10) *Quibus usus metus si intelligere viderentur.* Tac. 1. ann. (11) *Intelligebantur artes: sed pars obsequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.* Tac. 4. hist. (12) *Abditos Principis sensus, & si quid occultius parat exquirere illicitum, anceps, nec ideo assequare.* Tac. 6. ann.

that

that he was in danger from some of the *Roman* Senators, *Asinius Gallus* desir'd to know who they were, that they might be brought to Justice, which *Tiberius* took very ill, that he should desire to know what he had a mind to conceal (13). *Germanicus* acted more prudently, who though he well understood *Tiberius*'s meaning, and that he was recall'd from *Germany*, only to stop the progress of his Glory, readily obey'd without seeming to understand (14). Since Princes commands can't be declin'd, 'tis prudence to obey them chearfully, pretending ignorance of the motives, to avoid danger. Thus *Archelaus*, though he knew he was call'd to *Rome* by *Tiberius*'s Mother through Craft and Treachery, yet he dissembled it, and fearing violence if he should be thought to understand it, made what hast he could thither (15). And this Dissimulation is yet more necessary in the Errors and Vices of Princes, for they esteem them as enemies, who are acquainted therewith. In the Banquet at which *Germanicus* was poison'd, some ran for't, but the more prudent sat still looking upon *Nero*, that they might not be thought to mistrust the Murther, but rather to believe that it was natural (16).

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(13) *Eo agrius accepit recludi quæ premeret.* Tac 4. ann. (14) *Haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus; quanquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto jam decori abstrahi intelligeret.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat.* Tac. 2. ann. (16) *Trepidatum à circumsedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes, at quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi, & Neronem intuentes.* Tac. 13. ann.

EMBLEM XLV.

THE Lion, the body of this deviſe, was among the *Ægyptians* the Emblem of Vigilance, and us'd to be ſet in the Frontiſpieces and Porches of their Temples. Hence *Alexander* the Great was engraven upon his Coin with a Lion's skin upon his head, to intimate that he was not leſs carefull and vigilant than valiant; for if at any time affairs requir'd that he ſhould not ſpend much time in ſleep, he was us'd to lie with his arm out of bed, holding a Silver ball in his hand, that if he ſhould fall aſleep, that falling into a braſs Baſon ſet underneath for that purpoſe, might waken him. He had never conquer'd the world, had he been ſleepy and lazy, he ought not to ſnore away his time, who has the Government of People committed to him †.

† *Non decet ignavum totâ producere ſomnum*
Nocte virum, ſub conſilio, ſub nomine cujus
Tot populi degunt, cui rerum cura, fideſque
Credita ſummarum eſt.

Thus

Thus the Lion knowing himſelf to be King of Beaſts, ſleeps but little, or if he does, 'tis with his Eyes open: he does not confide ſo much in his Empire, nor relie ſo much on his Majeſty, as not to think it neceſſary to ſeem to be awake even while he ſleeps. The Senſes do indeed require reſt ſometimes, but even then 'tis neceſſary Princes ſhould be thought to be awake. A ſleeping King differs not from another man: This Paſſion he ought to conceal from Friends as well as Enemies; he may ſleep, provided others think him waking. Let him not depend ſo much upon his Authority and Power, as to ſhut his Eyes to Care and Circumſpection. 'Tis a cunning Diſſimulation in the Lion to ſleep with his Eyes open, not with a deſign to deceive, but only to hide his ſleepineſs. And if any one deſigning againſt him be deceiv'd, finding him awake whom he thought he had ſeen ſleeping, 'tis his own fault not the Lion's. Nor is this pretence below the greatneſs of his Mind, no more than that other piece of cunning, of ſmoothing over the Tract of his feet with his Tail to deceive the Huntſmen. There is no Fortreſs ſecure unleſs guarded by Vigilance. The greater the Prince is, the greater care he ought to be crown'd with, not with the Sincerity of innocent Doves, but the prudence of ſubtle Serpents. For as when the Lion enters the Field, the other Beaſts lay aſide their natural Enmity, and give over fighting, and with joint force combine againſt him, ſo among men all arm and unite againſt the ſtrongeſt. Nothing is more pernicious to the Kingdom of *England*, than the greatneſs of the *Dutch*, for they take from them the Dominion of the Seas; nothing more prejudicial to *France*, than the Grandure of thoſe ſame Rebels, who once breaking down the Dikes oppos'd by *Spain*, would, like an Inundation ſoon o'erwhelm the Kingdom of *France*, as King *Henry* the Fourth wiſely obſerv'd: and yet what weigh'd more with both theſe two Crowns than their danger, their hatred, I mean, and fear of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy, rais'd that people to that Grandure and Power, which upon alteration of affairs they may fear againſt themſelves. We are more ſollicitous and carefull to avert preſent dangers than future ones, though theſe are often greater. Fear obſtructs the

Senſes,

Senſes, nor permits the Mind to ſurvey things at a diſtance. A groundleſs Fear is often of more force than the greateſt reaſon of State. The power of *Spain* in *Italy* is a preſervative againſt the diſtempers of the *Genoeſe* liberty; the ſame alſo preſerves the Dukedom of *Tuſcany*, augments the Spiritual Empire of the Church, maintains the Authority of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and ſecures the *Venetians* from the Tyranny of the *Turks*; yet I know not whether the Miniſters of theſe Princes will acknowledge this, or act conformable to this their Intereſt. Such Jealouſies as are not guided by reaſon, work their own ruin. They who thought they ſhould be ſafe in diſarming the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second, found afterwards that they had need of thoſe arms which they had caus'd him to disband. Many Provinces, which for Reaſons of State ſought the ruin of the *Roman* Empire loſt their own liberty with its ruin.

Let not a Prince put much confidence in exterior reſpect and ceremony, for 'tis all feign'd, and far from what it appears to be; Complaiſance is Flattery; Adoration, Fear; Reſpect, Force; and Friendſhip, Neceſſity. The good opinion which a Prince conceives of others, they make uſe of to circumvent and betray him. All watch his motions, to make a prey of him; all ſtrive to overcome him by Stratagem whom they can't by force; few or none act ſincerely with him; for he who is fear'd, ſeldom hears truth; and therefore he ought not to ſleep in confidence of his own power. Let him oppoſe Stratagem with Stratagem, and Power with Power. A generous mind cloſely and cautiouſly prevents, or couragiouſly reſiſts dangers.

But though in the preſent Emblem we allow of the arts of Diſſimulation, nay and think them neceſſary with the aforeſaid reſtrictions, yet does it more become the Miniſters than the Princes themſelves, for in them there is a certain occult Divinity which is offended at that care: Diſſimulation is uſually the Daughter of Fear and Ambition, neither of which ought to be diſcover'd in a Prince. The conveniences of Diſſimulation he ought to ſupply by ſilence and reſervedneſs. A Prince is more belov'd for being prudent and wary, provided he act with a Royal Sincerity. All hate Artifice,

and

and on the contrary, a natural and open freedom is agreeable to all, as *Tacitus* remarks in *Petronius* (1).

(1) *Dicta factaque ejus quanto ſolutiora, & quandam ſui negligentiam præferentia, tantò gratius in ſpeciem ſimplicitatis accipiebantur.* Tac. 16. ann.

EMBLEM XLVI.

AN Oar under Water appears crooked and broken, which is caus'd by the refraction of Species: ſo in many things our opinion deceives us. For this reaſon the Sceptick Philoſophers doubted of all things, and durſt affirm nothing for certain. A wary piece of Modeſty and prudent Diſtruct of humane Judgment, and not without ground: for to a certain knowledge of things, there are required two diſpoſitions, that which is to know, and that which is to be known; the firſt is the Underſtanding, which uſes the external and internal Senſes to form Imaginations; the

the external are variously chang'd according to the abundance or defect of humours. The internal are also subject to changes, either from the same cause, or from the different Affections of the Organs. Whence proceed such different Opinions and Judgments, one judging differently of the same things from another, and both with equal uncertainty; for things change their shape and colour with their places, by being near or at a distance, or because none are purely simple, or because of natural Mixtures and Species which interpose between them and the Senses; so that we can't affirm things are so and so, but that they seem such, forming an Opinion not certain Knowledge. *Plato* found a yet greater incertainty in them, when he consider'd that there was nothing of so pure and perfect nature as God; and that in this life we could have no perfect knowledge of any thing, but saw only things present, and those too, Reflections and Shadows of others, so that 'twas impossible to reduce them to a Science. Not that I would have a Prince a Sceptick, for he who doubts all determines nothing; nor is there any thing more pernicious to Government, than Hesitation in resolving and executing. I only advise that he would not be too positive in his opinions, but believe that he may easily be deceiv'd in his Judgment, either through Affection, or Passion, or false Information, or Flattery and Insinuation, or because he don't care to hear truth which prescribes bounds to his Authority and Will, or because of the uncertainty of our own apprehension; or lastly, because few things are really what they appear, especially in Policy, which is now a-days nothing but the art of cheating, or not being cheated; wherefore they ought to be viewed in different lights, and a Prince ought carefully to consider and weigh them not slightly to pass them over, least he should give credit to appearances and groundless Stories.

These Cheats and politick Tricks can't be well known, unless the nature of man be also known; for the knowledge of him is absolutely necessary for a Prince, that he may know how to govern and beware of him. For tho' Government be an invention of men, 'tis in no danger but from them; for Man has no greater Enemy than Man. The Eagle hurts

not

not the Eagle, nor the Serpent the Serpent; but man is continually plotting against his own kind. The Dens of Beasts are open and unguarded, but three of the four Elements are not sufficient for the guard of Cities, *viz.* Earth cast up into Walls and Entrenchments, Water confin'd to Ditches, and Fire enclos'd in Artillery. That some may sleep, the rest must watch. What instruments are there not invented against Life, as if it were not of it self short enough, and subject to the infirmities of Nature; and tho' the Seeds of all Vertues and Vices are in man as their proper Subject; 'tis with this difference, that those can't grow and increase without the Dew of celestial and supernatural Grace; but these do spontaneously bud out and flourish, which is the effect and punishment of man's first Sin; and as we always suffer our selves to be led by our Inclinations and Passions, which hurry us to ill, and as there is not the same danger in Vertue as in Vices, we therefore will lay before a Prince a short description of deprav'd human Nature.

Man is then the most inconstant Animal in the Creation; pernicious both to himself and others; Changes with his Age, Fortune, Interest and Passion; nor does the Sea vary so oft as his condition. He is deluded by empty appearances, and through self-conceit persists in his Errour. Revenge and Cruelty he esteems praise-worthy and honourable. Is well vers'd in Hypocrisie, and can dissemble his Passions a great while. With Words, Laughter and Tears he conceals his Thoughts. Veils his Designs with Religion. Confirms and maintains Lyes with Oaths. Is a Slave to Hope and Fear. Favours make him ungratefull. Dominion proud. Constraint vile and abject. Law fearfull. Benefits he inscribes on Wax; Injuries receiv'd on Marble; and those he offers on Brass. He is subject to Love, not out of Charity, but an appearance of good. A mere Slave to Anger. In Adversity prostrate and cringing. In Prosperity arrogant and proud. What he commends in himself, and affects, he wants; calls himself a true Friend, but knows not what Friendship means. Slights his own and covets others goods. The more he has, the more he desires. The good Fortune and Prosperity of others kills him with En-

vy. Under shew of Friendship, he is the greatest Enemy. Loves the Rigour of Justice in others, but hates it in himself.

This is a description of humane nature in general, nor are all these Vices in one person, but dispers'd in several. And though a Prince think that some one is wholly free from them, let him not therefore be less cautious of him, for there is no certainty in the Judgment which is made of the condition and nature of men. Vice often puts on the Mask of Vertue, the better to deceive, and the best of men may be deficient sometimes, either through human frailty, or the inconstancy of the times, or necessity, or interest, or appearance of publick or private good, or over-sight, or want of knowledge; whence it happens that the good are not less dangerous than the bad; and in case of doubt, 'tis more prudent for a Prince to avoid the danger, remembring (not to offend, but to defend) that, as *Ezekiel* said, *Briars and Thorns are with him, and he dwells among Scorpions* (1), whose Tails are always ready to strike (2). Such generally are Courtiers, they all advance their own pretensions by deluding the Prince, or by removing his best and most deserving Favourites, by means of his own power. How often have waves of Envy and Jealousie been interpos'd between the Eyes of the Prince, and the Minister's actions, making those appear crooked and disloyal which are drawn by the rule of Justice and his Service. Thus Vertue suffers, the Prince loses a good Minister, and Malice triumphs in its Practices; which that he may practically know, and not suffer Innocence to be wrong'd, I will here set down the most usual.

There are some Courtiers so subtle and cunning, that while they seem to excuse their Rival's faults, they then most accuse them. So *Augustus* reprehended the Vices of *Tiberius* (3).

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(1) Ezek. 2. 6. (2) *Semper cauda in ictu est, nulloque momento meditari cessat, ne quando desit occasioni.* Plin. lib. 11. c. 25. (3) *Quanquam honora oratione, quædam de habitu, cultuque & institutis ejus fecerat, quæ velut excusando exprobraret.* Tac. 1 ann.

Others

Others there are, who to cover their Malice, and gain credit under pretence of Goodneſs, begin under the title of Friendſhip, with the praiſes of him whom they would remove, extolling ſome little inſignificant Service, and at the ſame time by a feign'd zeal for the Princes intereſt, which they pretend to prefer before all Friendſhip and Relation, gradually diſcover his faults, which may procure his Diſgrace or loſs of Place. But if their Ambition and Malice can't procure this, they at leaſt eſtabliſh their own Reputation by carping at their Friends faults, and gain themſelves Glory by his infamy (4). *Alphonſo* the Wiſe King of *Naples* was well acquainted with all theſe practices; wherefore when he heard one full of the praiſes of his Enemy; *Obſerve*, ſays he, *the Artifice of that man, and you will find that the drift of theſe commendations is only to do him more miſchief.* And ſo it fell out, when he had for ſix Months endeavour'd to gain credit to his intentions, that he might afterwards the ſooner be believ'd in what he ſhould ſay againſt him. Mines are always ſprung at a diſtance from the Walls where they are to do execution. Thoſe Friends who praiſe you are worſe than Enemies who murmur at you (5). Others, that they may cheat more ſecurely, praiſe in publick, and in private ſcandalize (6).

Nor is their ſubtilty leſs malicious, who ſo adorn their Calumnies, that they look like praiſes; as *Aleto* did in *Taſſo*.

Gran fabro di calumnie adorne in modi
Novi, che ſono accuſe e payen lodi.

Theſe the Pſalmiſt meant, when he ſaid, *They were turned aſide like a deceitful bow* (7).

Or as *Hoſea* the Prophet ſays, *like a deceitfull bow, which aims at one place and hits another* (8).

Some extoll their Rivals to that degree, that it may

(4) *Unde amico infamiam parat, inde gloriam ſibi recipere.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Peſſimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (6) *Secretis cum criminationibus infamaverat, ignarum, & quo cautius deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (7) Pſal. 78. 57. (8) Hoſ. 7. 16.

Plainly appear they don't speak seriously and really, as was observ'd in *Tiberius* when he prais'd *Germanicus* (9).

Others make use of these commendations to raise their Enemy to such posts as may at last ruin them, or at least procure their removal from Court, though to his greater advantage; which I believe was among others, the reason why *Ruigomez* caus'd *Ferdinand* Duke of *Alba* to be sent into *Flanders*, when those Provinces revolted. With the same intention *Mucian* prais'd *Anthony* in the Senate, and propos'd for him the Government of the Neither *Spain* (10); and to facilitate it, he divided his Offices and Honours among his Friends. 'Tis scarce credible, how liberal Envy is, when it would remove him who eclipses its Glory or obstructs its Rise: 'tis a wave which drives him who can't swim, upon the Shore of Fortune.

Sometimes Commendations are us'd with a design of creating Envy to the party prais'd; a strange way of striking, with others Vices. Many endeavour to introduce their own Creatures with such Artifice, as no one can penetrate their designs; and to that end, they first carp at some trivial faults committed by others in the same Offices, then praise and cry up others as more fit for those places, and sometimes they entertain them as if they had no knowledge of them, as *Lacon* did *Piso*, that he might be adopted by *Galba* (12).

Others, the better to conceal their Passion, lay their Plots at a distance, and instill their hatred gradually into the Prince's Mind, that being at last full, he may burst upon their Enemies. These means *Sejanus* us'd to alienate the Mind of *Tiberius* from *Germanicus* (13). And these the Holy Spirit seems to condemn under the Metaphor of plowing Lyes (14). Which is the same as sowing Tares in the

(9) *Multaque de virtute ejus memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adornata quam ut penitus sentire crederetur.* Tac. 1. ann. (10) *Igitur Mucianus quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in senatu laudibus cumulatum secretis promissis onerat, Citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam.* Tac. 4. hist. (12) *Sed callidè ut ignotum fingebat.* Tac. 1. ann. (13) *Odia in longum jacens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret.* Tac. 1 ann (14) Devise not (Lat. *noli arare*) a lye against thy Brother, *Eccl* 7. 13.

Mind,

Mind, that they may afterwards reap the fruit of Wickedneſs (15).

Some, not with leſs cunning, firſt deceive thoſe Miniſters in whom the Prince has moſt confidence, by inſinuating into them ſome Falſhoods, which they afterwards imprint in the Prince. This was the art of that lying Spirit of the Prophet *Micaiah*, which propos'd to deceive King *Achab*, by being in the Mouth of all his Prophets, and God permitted it as the moſt effectual means (16).

There are others, who make advantage of the injuries the Prince has receiv'd, and perſwade him to revenge, either that they may themſelves be thereby reveng'd of their Enemies, or elſe cauſe him to be turn'd out of Favour and Truſt. By this Artifice *John Pacheco* perſwaded King *Henry* the IVth. to apprehend *Alphonſo Fonſeca* Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, and afterwards advis'd him privately to provide for his own ſafety.

Theſe are the uſual practices of Courts, and though they are oft diſcover'd, yet they never want Patrons, nay, there are thoſe who will ſuffer themſelves to be cheated twice; whence we often ſee bare-fac'd Impoſtors remain at Court ſo long; an effect of the weakneſs of our deprav'd Nature, which is more taken with Lyes than Truth. We are more apt to admire the Picture of a Horſe than a real one, that being but a Lye of th'other. What is Rhetorick with all its Tropes and Figures, but a kind of Falſhood and Cheat? From all which we may ſee, how much danger there is of a Prince's being deceiv'd in his opinion, unleſs he with great application and diligence examine things, ſuſpending his belief, untill he not only ſees the things themſelves, but alſo as it were, feels them, thoſe eſpecially which he has only by hear-ſay. For the Breath of Flattery, and the Winds of Hatred and Envy enter at the Ears, and raiſe the Paſſions and Affections of the Mind, before there can be any Certainty of the truth of the thing. 'Twould therefore be very convenient for a Prince to have his Ears near his

(15) Ye have plowed wickedneſs, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of Lyes, *Hoſ.* 10. 13. (16) And he ſaid, I will go forth and be a Lying Spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets, 1 *Kin.* 22. 22.

Thoughts and Reason. As are the Owl's (for that reason perhaps sacred to *Minerva*) upon the top of its head, the Chamber of the Senses, all of which we have need of in hearing, least our ears should deceive us. Let a Prince therefore take great care thereof, for when the ears are once free from affections, and reason sits there as judge, every thing is well examin'd; all things relating to Government depend upon the relation of others: therefore what *Aristotle* said of Bees seems improbable; that is, that they are deaf; for that would be a great inconveniency for that prudent and politick little Animal, since those two Senses, Hearing and Seeing, are the Instruments through which we draw Wisdom and Experience; both these we have need of to prevent our being deceiv'd by Passion, Nature or Inclination. The prepossess'd *Moabites* thought the Waters upon which the Sun shone, were Blood (17). The same noise of the people, to the Ears of Warlike *Joshua*, seem'd their Shoots to Battle; and to those of gentle *Moses* a Harmony of Musick (18). For which cause, God, though omniscient, would verifie with his Eyes what he had heard of *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* (19). When therefore a Prince shall have seen, heard, and felt things, he can't be deceiv'd, or if he be, 'twill not be his fault. From all which we may see how ill contriv'd was that image of the *Thebans*, by which they expres's'd the qualifications of their Princes, for it had ears, but no Eyes, these being full as necessary as those: the Ears to know things, and the Eyes to believe them, in which the Eyes are most trusty, for truth is no farther distant from a Lye than the Eyes from the Ears.

(17) And they rose up early in the Morning, and the Sun shone upon the Waters, and the *Moabites* saw the water on the other side as red as Blood, 2 *Kings* 3. 22. (18) And *Joshua* heard the noise of the people, as they shouted, he said unto *Moses*, There is a noise of war in the camp. And he said, it is not the voice of them that shout for Mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing, do I hear, *Exod.* 32. 17, 18. (19) I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know, *Gen.* 18. 21.

Nor

Nor has a Prince need of leſs diligence and attention in diſcuſſing the Counſels and Propoſals of his Miniſters, before he puts them in execution; ſuch as concern raiſing Money, regulating the Government, and other matters relating to Peace and War, for their uſual aim is their own particular intereſt, and effects don't always correſpond to our expectations. Ingenuity often approves Counſels which Experience afterwards rejects. Yet is it imprudence wholly to ſlight them, for the ſucceſs of one only makes amends for the vanity of the reſt. *Spain* had never obtain'd the Empire of the new world, if their Catholick Majeſties had not gave more credit to *Columbus* than other Princes. Yet to be over credulous or confident to act whatever is propos'd, is either Levity or Folly. *Firſt*, The condition of the Propoſer is to be conſider'd, his Experience in the matter; what end he may have in deceiving; what intereſt if he ſucceeds; alſo the means and time by which he thinks to accompliſh it: *Nero*, for want of theſe conſiderations, was much diſappointed about a Treaſure which one told him he had found in *Africk* (20). Many Projects at firſt ſeem conſiderable, which prove at laſt vain and uſeleſs. Many ſeem light and frivolous, from whence reſult great advantages. Many which have been ſucceſsfully experienc'd in ſmall matters, in affairs of greater moment ſucceed not. Many ſeem eaſie to reaſon, which are difficult in the operation. Many are prejudicial at firſt, and advantageous afterwards, and ſo on the contrary; and many have different effects from what were at firſt propos'd.

The lazy and blind Vulgar don't know truth, unleſs they light on it by chance, for they fooliſhly form opinions of things before Reaſon foreſees the inconveniences, and promiſe themſelves a more certain knowledge from the ſucceſs, the guide of the ignorant, and ſo if any one ſhould go about to argue theſe people out of their opinions he would loſe his time and pains. There are no better means, than to make them ſee and feel their Errors; ſo ſtartling Horſes uſe to be

(20) *Non authoris, non ipſius negotii fide ſatis ſpectata, nec miſſis viſoribus per quos noſceret an vera aſſererentur.* Tac. 16. ann.

whip'd and spur'd to make them go forwards to see the vanity of the shadow which frightned them. This means *Pacuvius* us'd to appease the people of *Capua*, who rose against the Senate: he first shut all the Senators by their own consent, into a certain Hall; then calls the people together, tells them, that if they have a mind to take off or punish the Senators, now is their time, for they are lock'd up without Arms; but withal tells them, it would be necessary to take them one by one, and immediately to elect another in the room of him whom they took off, for that without those heads the State could not subsist a Moment. He puts all their Names in a Pot, draws out one, and asks the people what they would have done with him; they all cry out, let him die; then he advises them to elect another; this confounds them, and they don't know who to propose; and so a second and third time they could not agree upon their choice. At last their confusion taught them, that 'twas better to bear with an ill already experienc'd, than to attempt a remedy, and so they immediately commanded the Senators to be releas'd. The people is very furious in its opinions, and 'tis often, especially upon any imminent danger, a piece of great management in a Prince to govern it with his own hand, keeping pace with it in its ignorance. The people are often reduc'd to their duty, by laying before them the inconveniences which have hapned in the like cases; for they are more mov'd by Example than Reason (21).

(21) *Plebeia ingenia exemplis magis quam ratione capiuntur.* Macrob.

EMBLEM XLVII.

EVEN Vertues have their Dangers; they ſhould be always in a Prince's Mind, but not always in exerciſe. Publick intereſt ought to dictate when and where to uſe them. Us'd without Prudence, they either become Vices, or are not leſs hurtfull than them. In a private perſon they reſpect only him; in a Prince both him and the State too. They ought to ſuit with the common intereſt of all, not with that of particular perſons. Civil Science preſcribes certain limits to the Vertue of him who commands and him who obeys. Juſtice is not in the power of the Miniſter, but ought always to be directed by the Laws. In the Prince, who is the Soul thereof, it has certain conſiderations, which reſpect the Government in common. In the Subject Commiſeration can never be exceſſive; in a Prince 'tis often dangerous. To demonſtrate this in the preſent Emblem, I have made uſe of that method, which according

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to *Sanazaro* and *Garcilazo*, the Shepherds us'd to catch Crows. Which shews Princes with how much circumspection they ought to interest themselves in the misfortunes and dangers of others. They fastned a Crow by the Pinions of its Wings to the ground, this seeing others fly by, would, by making a grievous noise, excite them to pity, and come down to its assistance.

Cercavanla, i alguna mas piadosa
Del mal ageno de la companera.
Que del suyo à visada, ô timerosa, &c.

For that which was fastned to the ground, catches hold of another with its Claws, thereby to free it self, and that again of another, which the same Compassion brought to their assistance; so that for the sake of one another, they are all caught. In which something may be attributed to the Novelty of the accident, for sometimes that appears Compassion which is only a motion of natural Inquietude. I allow the Eyes and Heart to be mov'd with Compassion, at the Misfortunes and Complaints of foreign Princes. But not to arm upon every slight occasion for their Defence. For a private person to expose himself to dangers to serve his Friend, is brave and commendable, but in a Prince blameable, if he hazzards the publick safety for the service of a Foreigner, without good grounds and reasons of State; nor are those of Consanguinity or private Friendship sufficient. For a Prince is born more for his Subjects than his Relations and Friends; he may indeed assist them, but without incurring any damage or danger. When assistance renders the danger so common, that the ruin of one draws after it that of the other, there is no tie of Obligation or Piety can excuse it: but when interests are so interwoven and united, that one must follow the fate of th'other, who-ever assists in that case acts his own cause; and 'tis more prudence (as we have said) to oppose dangers in a foreign State than to expect them at home. Also when 'tis the publick interest to assist the oppressed; the Prince who is most potent, is, without doubt, obliged to it. For between Princes Justice can't have recourse to the common Tribunals;

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'tis in the Authority and Power of the ſtrongeſt, that it finds Refuge. In ſuch caſe 'twould be a kind of Tyranny to be an idle Spectator only, and give way to that Policy which aims to imbroil other Princes, that themſelves may be more ſecure through their diſſenſions, and raiſe their own fortunes upon the ruin of others, for ſuch as theſe the ſupreme Judge of the intentions ſeverely puniſhes.

Theſe caſes require great Prudence, to weigh the ingagement with the intereſt, leaſt we ſhould entangle our ſelves in others Misfortunes, and make their danger ours, for we muſt not afterwards expect the ſame return. *Spain* pitied the Misfortunes of the Empire, and aſſiſted it with its Blood and Treaſures, from whence proceeded the Invaſions which *France* made in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy* and *Spain*, the whole War lying at preſent upon this Monarchy, yet won't ſome in *Germany* acknowledge this, or believe that it is for their ſakes.

Experience therefore in our own and others Misfortunes ought to make us more cautious in our Commiſeration and Aſſiſtance. How often, by aſſiſting the Misfortunes of our Friends, have we loſt both our ſelves and him, being afterwards ungratefull for the benefit! How often have theſe incurr'd the hatred of a Prince by thoſe very means by which they have endeavour'd to ſerv'd him. *Germanicus* was adopted by *Tiberius*, appointed to ſucceed him in the Empire, and ſo faithfull in his Service, that he took it as an affront, that the Legions ſhould offer him the Empire(1), and when they preſs'd him to it would have ſtabb'd himſelf (2); and the more faithfully he behav'd himſelf, the leſs gratefull he was to *Tiberius*. His care in appeaſing the Legions with Donatives was diſtaſtfull (3). His Piety in gathering and burying the Relicts of *Varus*'s Army, he interpreted Ambition (4). The Compaſſion of his Wife *Agrippina* in cloathing the Soldiers, ſeem'd a deſire of rule (5).

(1) *Quaſi ſcelere contaminaretur.* Tac. 1. ann. (2) *At ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret, clamitans, ferrum à latere diripuit, elatumque deferebat in pectus.* Id. ibid. (3) *Sed quod largiendis pecuniis & miſſione feſtinata favorem militum quæſiviſſet, bellicaquoque Germanici gloria augebatur.* Id. ibid. (4) *Quod Tiberio haud probatum.* Id. ibid. (5) *Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit.* Id. ibid.

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In a word, all *Germanicus*'s actions were misinterpreted (6). *Germanicus* knew this Hatred, and that he was call'd upon pretence of Honour, from his true Glory in *Germany*, and endeavour'd to oblige him more by Obedience and Observance (7); but this made him still more odious, till Gratitude, oppress'd by the weight of Obligation, he sent him to the Eastern Provinces (8), where he caus'd him to be poison'd by *Piso*, rejoycing in the death of him, who was the support of his Empire (9). Some Princes are Idols, whose Eyes are, (as *Jeremiah* says) blinded with the dust of those who enter in to worship them (10). They acknowledge no Services, and what is worse, won't be convinc'd of them, nor that their liberty is subject to desert, and therefore take great care to disengage themselves from it. Him who has perform'd signal Services they charge with some Crime or other, that his pretension to reward being reduc'd to a defence, he may take his Pardon for a sufficient Recompence. They seem dis-satisfied with those very Services which they inwardly approve; to avoid being oblig'd, or they attribute them to their own orders, and sometimes that very thing which they desir'd and commanded to be done, they repent of afterwards, and are angry with him who facilitated it, as if he had done it from his own motive. The Heart of a King is unsearchable (11). 'Tis a deep Sea which is to day boisterous and raging, from the same cause which made it yesterday calm and serene. The Goods of Fortune and Mind, and also Riches and Honours, they sometimes esteem meritorious, sometimes injurious and criminal (12).

The most officious diligence often displeases them. That of *Uzzah* to God, in putting forth his arm to support the

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(6) *Cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti.* Id. Ibid. (7) *Quanto summe spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio niti.* Id. ibid (8) *Novisque provinciis impositum, dolo simul & casibus objectaret.* Tac. 2. ann. (9) *Nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (10) Their eyes be full of dust, through the feet of them that come in. *Baruc*, 6. 17. (11) Prov. 25. 3. (12) *Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine & ob virtutes certissimum exitium.* Tac. 1. hist.

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falling Ark, coſt him his life (13). Princes uſually recompence negligence rather than care, and reward the leaſt Services with greateſt Honours. To be oblig'd they reckon ſervile and mean, and chuſe Ingratitude rather than Acknowledgment. The prompt zeal and liberality of *Junius Blæſus* towards the Emperor *Vitellius* got him his Hatred inſtead of Thanks (14). The renown'd *Roger* of *Calabria*, being at *Conſtantinople* to aſſiſt *Fadricus* King of *Sicily*, was recall'd by the Emperor *Andronicus* to defend the Empire; he did things beyond belief; with a ſmall number of his valiant *Catalonians*; he repell'd the *Turks*, and when he expected a reward for his Services, the Emperour upon ſome flight pretence, put him to death. And very often ſome frivolous pretence is more regarded than the greateſt Services; for Gratitude is eſteem'd a burthen to the mind, but Revenge diſcharges the Bile. There is this Misfortune in the Service of Princes, that no man knows when he obliges or diſobliges them (15). And if we would form any method of Policy from the light of Hiſtory, and the Misfortunes which we incur through our over-officiouſneſs, we had need diſtinguiſh between Vertues, that we may know how to uſe them, by conſidering that though they are all in us as their proper Subject, yet do they not all operate within us. Some are practiſed externally, others internally. Theſe are Fortitude, Patience, Modeſty, Humility, Religion, among which, ſome are only ſo far for us, that thoſe external ones contribute no more thereto, than the ſecurity of humane Society, and an eſteem for their own Excellence, as are Humility, Modeſty, and Humanity. So that the more perfect theſe Vertues are, the more they work upon the Minds and Approbation of others, provided we can keep a

(13) And *Uzzah* put forth his hand to the Ark of God, and took hold of it, for the Oxen ſhook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt *Uzzah*, and God ſmote him there for his error, and there he died by the Ark of God, 2 *Sam.* 6. 6. (14) *Lugdunenſis Galliæ rector, genere illuſtris, largus animo, & par opibus, circumdaret Principi miniſteria comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipſo ingratus quamvis, odium Vitellius humilibus blanditiis velaret.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (15) And no man knoweth either Love or Hatred, by all that is before them, *Eccl.* 9. 1.

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Decorum. Other of thoſe Vertues, though they are internal, yet their Operation depends upon external Actions, as Valour and Magnanimity. In theſe there is no danger, if they be govern'd by Prudence, which preſcribes time and manner to all Vertues. For exceſſive and imprudent reſervedneſs uſually obſtructs our intereſt; we loſing our ſelves under a Notion of Reputation and Glory, while thoſe who ſuit themſelves to the Times, Neceſſity and Flattery, obtain the Rewards and Commendations. In the exerciſe of thoſe Vertues which reſpect the good of others, ſuch as Liberality and Compaſſion, there is always ſome danger, becauſe neither the Rewards of Princes, nor the acknowledgments of Friends are anſwerable to them; we perſwade our ſelves that our Services will be acceptable, and that to aſſiſt our Misfortunes, they will reciprocally expoſe their own Lives and Fortunes. Into this error we are led by our own Senſe of Gratitude, which often makes us heedleſs of our own ruin, to ſatisfie for Obligations receiv'd. But if we fall into any Calamity they withdraw and deſert us. There were but three of *Job*'s Friends who viſited him in his Afflictions, and they too by God's Command (16): nor did they aſſiſt him but with Words and ſevere Advice, which he had need of all his Patience to bear. But after God again ſmil'd upon *Job*, and began to heap on him Riches in abundance, then came flocking to him, not only his Brethren and Relations, but thoſe too who knew him not but by ſight, and ſat down at Table with him, that they might partake of his Proſperity (17).

This error, under pretence of mutual aſſiſtance and obligation has been the ruin of many, who have reap'd nought but Ingratitude and Hatred from their benefits and kindneſſes, and created Enemies of thoſe who before were their Friends, ſo that they die friendleſs and miſerable. The Ho-

(16) Now when *Job*'s three Friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place, *V. Lat. venerunt ſicut locutus eſt dominus ad eos*, Job 2. 9. (17) Then came there unto him all his Brethren, and all his Siſters, and all that had been of his acquaintance before, and did eat Bread with him in his houſe, *Job* 42. 11.

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ly Spirit has cautioned us of this: *My Son*, says he, *if thou be surety for thy Friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger; thou art snar'd with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with thine own words* (18). He advises us to deliver our selves from the hand of a Friend, as a Roe from the hand of the Hunter, and as a Bird from the hand of the Fowler (19). Do good but look about ye, is a *Spanish* Proverb drawn from Experience. Those are not subject to these Misfortunes who live only to themselves, nor suffer themselves to be mov'd by Compassion or Charity, to assist the calamities of others, being deaf to their Tears and Groans, avoiding all occasions of intermedling with them, whence they live free from cares and troubles, and if they gain not new Friends, they however keep those they have; not being esteem'd for the good they do, but for the ill they don't do, this being in them accounted Prudence. Besides we naturally esteem them most, who have least need of us, who without being beholden to us, live content with their own. Whence considering the usual custom of Mankind, it may perhaps seem advisable to be an idle Spectator of others Calamities, and minding only our own interests, not to engage our selves in their dangers and troubles. But this policy would be against our duty as Christians, Charity, and generous Vertues, which gives us a nearer access to God. This would dissolve all civil Society, which wholly consists in the mutual assistance of one another. Vertue needs no outward acknowledgments; being to it self a fair reward. Nay, 'tis then most perfect and glorious, when it expects the least return; for 'tis a kind of Avarice to do good in hopes of a Retaliation, which if not obtain'd creates a lasting resentment. Let us therefore be guided by the consideration of what we owe our selves, and also by the example of God Almighty, who bestows his Blessings even on the Ungratefull. Yet 'tis Prudence to have respect to the time when and where acknowledgments may be expected, for 'tis too hard for a man, after great Expences, great Hazards and Hardships undergone for another, to meet with nothing

(18) Prov. 6. 1. (19) Ibid.

but

but Ingratitude in return. To him who understands the nature and usual ways of Mankind, this will not seem at all new; but foreknowing it, will ward the blow, and avoid being hurt.

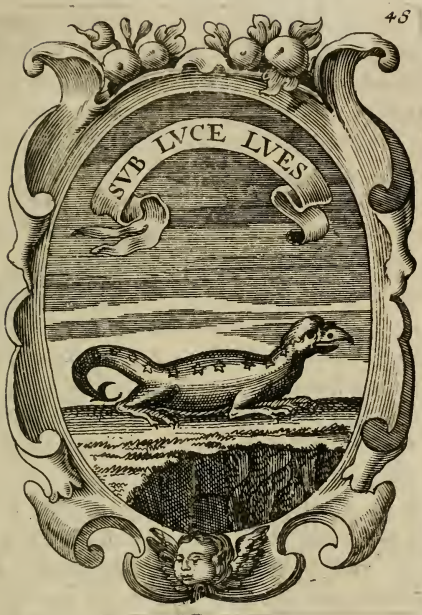
We should also well consider, whether it be really our Friend's interest for us to undertake his assistance: for sometimes we do him an injury by our diligence, because 'tis either unseasonable or imprudent, by which we ruin both our selves and him too. This officiousness *Thraseas* check'd in *Rusticus Arulenus*, though in his own behalf, knowing that kindness would be prejudicial to the Intercessor, and of no advantage to the criminal (20).

Nor is it less imprudent and dangerous to be over zealous for the publick good and welfare of the Prince, then especially, when without obligation of duty, or certain prospect of remedy, we intermeddle with their concerns to our own apparent ruin. I don't mean, that we should be insensible at the sight of others sufferings, or that for our own ease and quiet we should basely truckle to the Times and Tyranny. But that we should not foolishly ruin our selves, and that we should follow the example of *Lucius Piso*, who in difficult and deplorable times, knew how to preserve himself with such Prudence, that he was never the Author of any servile proposition, and upon absolute necessity, did it with great Moderation (21). Oftentimes we are forward in giving our advice in things which don't concern us, perswaded that therein consists the remedy of the publick ills: not considering how easily we are deceiv'd with a conceit of our own opinions, without particular knowledge of the motives upon which Princes act. Nothing is more dangerous than to advise; even he who is oblig'd in duty to it, ought to avoid it if not ask'd; for Advice is judg'd by the event, and that depends upon future accidents, which no Prudence can foresee, and that which falls out ill is attributed to the Counsellor, but not that which succeeds well.

(20) *Ne vana, & reo non profitura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet.* Tac. 16. ann. (21) *Nullius servilis sententiæ sponte author, & quoties necessitas ingrueret, sapienter moderans.* Tac. 6. ann.

EM-

EMBLEM XLVIII.



HOW are Princes arm'd againſt foreign Enemies! and how unprovided againſt domeſtick ones! who follow them even through the midſt of their Guards, yet do they take no notice of them. Theſe are Flatterers and Paraſites; nor is there leſs danger from their Fawns than from an Enemy's Sword. Flattery has ruin'd more Princes than force What Royal Purple has not this Moth eaten? What Sceptre has not this Worm gnaw'd? It inſinuates it ſelf into the talleſt Cedars, and preying upon the root ſoon brings them to the ground. 'Tis a damage not diſcern'd, but by entire ruin; the effect is ſooner ſeen than the cauſe. 'Tis a falſe Silk-worm which inhabits the gilded Roofs of Palaces. The preſent Emblem compares it to a Lizzard, with a gay ſtarry back and poiſon'd Breaſt. It appears to the Prince under the ſhining Cloak of Zeal, the better to conceal its perni-

cious deſigns (1). Let a Prince know, that all brightneſs does not denote the Excellence of the Subject; for in the Scripture it is a ſign of a Leproſie (2); and rotten wood gives a kind of light in the dark. There are ſome glimmerings of good, even in the blackeſt Soul. Sometimes in the very bowels of Severity, the Aſſertor of Liberty, and Oppoſer of the Prince. Flattery baſely diſcovers it ſelf; as when *Valerius Meſalla* propos'd the adminiſtring the Oath of Allegiance to *Tiberius* each year, and being ask'd by whoſe order he did it, he reply'd, That 'twas from his own proper motive; for that in all matters of publick concern, he would follow the Dictates of his own reaſon, even though he ſhould offend by it (3). Not unlike this, was that of *Ateius*, who when *Lucius Ennius* was accus'd of having deſtroy'd the Silver Statue of *Tiberius*, to make houſe Plate on, and *Tiberius* being willing to wave the Accuſation, openly oppos'd it, ſaying, That the Senators ought not to be depriv'd of the power of judging, nor ſhould ſuch a Crime go unpuniſh'd; that he might indeed forgive his own Grievances, but ſhould not be prodigal of the Injuries done the State (4).

The Lizzard changes its skin every year, ſo alſo does Flattery, as oft, I mean, as the Prince changes his mind. The Miniſters of King *Alphonſo* the Tenth, adviſ'd him to Divorce Queen *Violante*, for Barrenneſs, arguing, that the Marriage was void, which they afterwards declar'd valid, and perſwaded the King to retake her to his Bed †

There is no Animal more cunning than the Lizzard, whence the Lawyers call all falſe practice *Crimen Stellionatus.* Who uſes more cheats than the Flatterer, impoſing

(1) Wo unto them that call evil good and good evil; that put darkneſs for light, and light for darkneſs; that put bitter for ſweet, and ſweet for bitter, *Iſai.* 5. 20. (2) When a man ſhall have in the skin of his Fleſh, a riſing, a ſcab, or bright ſpot, *Levit.* 13. 2. (3) *Sponte dixiſſe, Reſpondit; neque in iis quæ ad remp. pertinerent, conſilio niſi ſuo uſurum, vel cum periculo offenſionis, ea ſola ſpecies adulandi ſupererat.* Tac. 1. ann. (4) *Palam aſpernante Atieo Capitone quaſi per libertatem. Non enim debere eripi patribus vim ſtatuendi, neque tantum maleficium impune habendum; ſanè lentius in ſuo dolore eſſet; reipub. dolores ne largiretur.* Tac. 3. ann. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp.

upon

upon the Will, the noblest faculty of man; so much above the other Senses, that without it the rest would be inslav'd.

The Lizzard does not kill him whom it wounds, but only benumbs him, and puts him, as it were, beside himself, by raising divers passions in him. The proper quality of a Flatterer, who with specious pretences charms the Eyes and Ears of Princes, and put them so beside themselves, that they can't search the truth of things. The Lizzard is so inveterate against man, that when it casts its skin, it eats it up, least it should be usefull in the cure of the Falling-sickness. A Flatterer desires a Prince may not recover from his errors; for Disabuse is the Son of Truth, which is an utter Enemy to Flattery. Flatterers envy the prosperity of Princes, and hate them as those who by their power, and a certain necessity oblige them to the Slavery of Dissimulation and Flattery, and force them to speak one thing and think another.

A Prince has need of great Prudence to distinguish Flattery: for it consists in Praise, which he will find from those who are far from that Vice. This is the difference that a Flatterer promiscuously commends all, honourable or base, good or bad; but the other only that which is just and good. When therefore a Prince sees things attributed to him which are due to others, or which are mere accidents (5); frivolous things commended and extoll'd which don't deserve it, such as tend more to pleasure than Reputation. Such as avert his mind from the toil of affairs, such as respect more his own advantage than the publick interest, and that the person who so commends these things, does not rightly govern himself, that he does not shew any concern or readiness to admonish him, when he commits any thing below his Person and Majesty; nay, that he excuses his Errors, and regards more his own Interest than his Service, that he never seems offended at any thing, that he may be always near him, that he does not associate with those who are zealous Patriots and lovers of their Country. That he

(5) O my People, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths. *Isa.* 3. 12.

praiſes thoſe whom he thinks agreeable to him, and whom, if he would, he cannot turn out of favour, that when he finds himſelf fixt therein, makes it his buſineſs to gain the eſteem of others, by attributing all good ſucceſs to himſelf, and by accuſing the Prince in that he did not follow his Counſel; that to gain credit, he brags that he reprehended his Errors, when in private he excus'd commended and approv'd. Such a one as this a Prince may well mark for a Flatterer, whom he ought to avoid as the moſt venomous Poiſon, and directly oppoſite to that ſincere Love with which he ought to be ſerv'd (6).

But though theſe marks are plain enough, yet is ſelf Conceit generally ſo blind, as not to diſcern Flattery, but ſuffer it ſelf to be coax'd with its own Praiſes, which exerciſe an agreeable Tyranny over the Senſes, ſo that there is no Flattery ſo groſs, which it does not believe its due. Sometimes this happens from a remiſs and negligent Goodneſs, which not duly conſidering the inconveniences of Flattery, bears it, and interprets it Submiſſion and Zeal. This was the fault of *Ferdinand* King of *Galicia*, who was hated of his Subjects for liſtening too much to Flatterers. And King *Alphonſo* the Ninth, for the ſame reaſon, did not a little obſcure the Glory of his other Vertues and Exploits. Let Princes therefore believe, that they may be ſo deceiv'd either through Self-conceit, or their natural Goodneſs, that though there be ſufficient tokens to diſtinguiſh Flattery, which that they may know and avoid, I would adviſe them to read Hiſtory, and obſerve by what Tricks and Cheats their Anceſtors were cajol'd, and what Loſſes they have incurr'd thereby, and then conſider, whether or no they are not ſerv'd in the ſame manner. One time only, when King *Ahaſuerus* could not ſleep, and commanded the Chronicles to be read to him, he preſently learn'd from thence what never any one durſt tell him, the Deſigns and Tyranny of his Favourite *Haman*, and the faithfull Services of *Mordecai*: thoſe hid hitherto by Diſſimulation and Flattery, theſe

(6) *Blanditiæ peſſimum veri affectus venenum; ſua cuique utilitas.* Tac. 1. Hiſt.

ſtiffed

ſtifled through Malice, by which being diſabus'd, he puniſh'd the one and rewarded the other. Yet even in this they ought to beware of Flattery, wherefore let them read themſelves; for perhaps if another reads, he will either paſs over thoſe caſes which ſhould inſtruct them, or change ſome Sentences and Words. O unhappy State of Majeſty, which can't be ſure of the truth even of Books, which are eſteem'd the faithfulleſt Friends of Mankind.

A Prince ought alſo to get a ſight of all Libels which are publiſh'd againſt him: for though Malice dictate them, yet Truth writes them, and he will find therein what his Courtiers conceal, and gather Prudence and Inſtruction from his Infamy. *Tiberius* ſeeing how he had been cheated, in not diſcovering the practices of *Sejanus* in time, caus'd to be publiſh'd the Will of *Fulcinius Trius*, which was a Satyr upon him, that he might ſee, though to his ſhame, the Truths which Flattery had conceal'd from him (7).

Let not a Prince always view his own actions in the glaſs of thoſe that are about him, but rather let him conſult Strangers, zealous Men, and ſuch as are of ſtrict Lives and Converſation, and obſerve if they all agree in one opinion: for the variable and inconſtant glaſſes of Flattery never repreſent things as they really are, but as the Prince would have them. And 'tis better to be corrected by the wiſe, than cheated by the Flattery of Fools (8). To this end 'tis neceſſary ſometimes to conſult one, ſometimes another, making them lay aſide Modeſty and Fear, by letting them know the obligation they are under to ſpeak Truth. Even *Samuel* durſt not freely tell what God commanded him, to *Eli* the High-Prieſt (9), until he entreated him (10).

(7) *Quæ ab hæredibus occultata, recitari Tiberius juſſit: patientiam libertatis alienæ oſtentans, & contemptor ſuæ infamiæ, an ſcelerum Sejani dici neſcius, mox quodam modo dicta vulgari malebat, veritatiſque cui officit adulatio, per probra ſaltem gnarus fieri.* Tac. 6. ann. (8) It is better to hear the rebuke of the wiſe, than for a man to hear the Song of Fools, *Eccl.* 7. 6. (9) And *Samuel* feared to ſhew *Eli* the Viſion, 1 *Sam.* 3. 15. (10) And he ſaid, What is the thing that the Lord hath ſaid unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me, *ibid.*

Let a Prince ſometimes view himſelf in the glaſs of the people, in which the leaſt ſpot immediately appears, for the Mob can't diſſemble. *Lewis* the Fourth of *France*, would, diſguis'd, mix himſelf with the Crowd, and hear what they ſaid of his Actions and Government. He that would find Truth, muſt ſeek her in the Streets. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France* us'd to complain, that he wanted one piece of Furniture in his Palace, which was Truth. Which is too modeſt and plain to live in Courts, being confounded in the preſence of Kings. For this reaſon *Saul* diſguiſed himſelf when he went to conſult the Witch of *Endor*, that ſhe might anſwer him with more freedom; and he did this himſelf without truſting to another (11). *Jeroboam* alſo obſerv'd the ſame method, when he ſent his Wife to *Ahijah* to enquire about their ſick Child. He commanded her to diſguiſe her ſelf, that he might not know her, leaſt if he ſhould, he might either give her no anſwer at all, or not tell her truth (12). Since then Truth is not to be found in the Palaces of Princes, ſhe muſt be trac'd out elſe-where; 'tis *the honour of a King to ſearch out a matter* (13). King *Philip* the Second had a Favourite, whom he lov'd extremely, who us'd to inform him of whatever was ſaid of him as well within as without the Court. 'Tis obſervable, that though the diſcourſes of the people in the abſence of the Prince, be true, yet when they come to his ears they are ſo ſoftned, and gilded with Flattery, that they rather encourage, and blindly make him purſue his Vices, perſwading him that his actions are highly approv'd by all. No Government was more tyrannical than that of *Tiberius*; no Favourite more hated than *Sejanus*; yet when they were at *Caprea*, the Senate earneſtly begg'd, that they would pleaſe to let them ſee them (14). *Nero* was ſo miſerably deceiv'd by the Flattery of the people, that he believ'd they could not bear his abſence from *Rome*, though for never ſo ſmall a time, and that his preſence comforted them

(11) And *Saul* diſguiſed himſelf, and put on other raiment, and he went, 1 *Sam.* 28 8. (12) 1 Kings 14. 2. (13) Prov. 25. 2. (14) *Crebriſque precibus efflagitabant, viſendi ſui copiam facerent.* Tac. 4. ann.

in

in their Adversity (15); though he was really so odious, that the Senate and Nobility were in doubt, whether he was more cruel in his Absence than his Presence (16).

There are other ways to know Flattery, but few Princes care to make use of them, it being so agreeable to their inclinations and nature; and so we see Coiners punish'd, but not Flatterers, though the last are most guilty; these gild and counterfeit our Money, those our Vices, putting them off even to our selves for Vertues. This is a great fault, which is still decry'd, yet still maintain'd in the Courts of Princes; where Truth appears not without danger, especially with haughty and passionate Princes (17). *Bernardo de Cabrera* lost his life for his friendly advice in some affairs to *Peter* the IVth of *Arragon*, notwithstanding his signal Services, and his having been his Tutor. He who advises or informs another, seems to accuse his Actions and Judgment, which Princes won't endure; for they think he don't sufficiently respect them, who talks to them freely. *Gutierrez Fernandez* of *Toledo* with an honest and well-meaning Sincerity, told King *Peter* the Cruel, what he thought of his Government, and advis'd him to moderate his Severity; which meritorious Advice the King took for such a crime, that he caus'd him to be beheaded for it*. A Prince looks upon him as his Judge, who observes his Actions, nor can he endure him who finds fault with them. The danger is in admonishing a Prince what he should do, not what he would do (18): which is the reason Truth is so timorous, and Flattery so audacious. But if any Prince would be so generous, as to think it base and mean to be coax'd by Flattery, and look upon it as a contempt for others to pretend to impose upon him, by false praises, and speak more of his Grandure than his Per-

(15) *Vidisse civium mœstos vultus, audire secretas quærimonias, quod tantum adituros esset iter, cujus ne modicos quidem egressus toleraverint, sueti adversum fortuita aspectu Principis refoveri.* (16) *Senatus & Primates in incerto erant, procul, an coram atrocior haberetur.* Tac. 15. ann. (17) *Contumacius loqui non est tutum apud aures superbas, & offensioni proniores.* Tac. 4. ann. * Mar. hist. Hisp. (18) *Nam suadere Principi quod oportet, multi laboris, & periculi.* Tac. 1. hist.

ſon (19), he would ſoon be rid of this ſort of cattle by arming himſelf with ſeverity; for none will dare attempt a ſtanch and ſevere Prince, who fathoms the truth of things, and has learnt to contemn vain Honours. *Tiberius* with the ſame compoſure of countenance, heard the freedom of *Piſo*, and the Flattery of *Gallus* (20). And though he diſſembled ſo well, he knew the Flattery, as he did that of *Ateius Capito*, conſidering their Thoughts, not their Words (21). Let a Prince alſo publickly gratifie thoſe who ſhall be ſo ingenuous as to tell him Truth. Thus *Cliſthenes* the Tyrant of *Sicily* did, who erected a Statue to one of his Counſellors, who contradicted his Triumph, by which he wonderfully gain'd the hearts of his Subjects, and encouraged his other Counſellors to ſpeak their Sentiments more freely. King *Alphonſo* the Twelfth, being once adviſing about an affair of great moment, with his Sword in his right hand, and his Sceptre in his left, ſpoke to this effect: *Come*, ſays he, *ſpeak all your minds freely, and frankly adviſe me what you think for the glory of this Sword, and the advantage of this Scepter* *. Happy that Kingdom, in which Counſel is neither embarraſs'd by Reſpect, nor aw'd by Fear! All men know the baſeneſs of Flattery, but they know too the inconveniencies of Truth, and ſee more danger from this than that. Who would not ſpeak with more ſincerity and zeal to Princes, were they all of the ſame temper with *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, who when one petition'd for ſome vacant Office, reply'd, That he had long ſince promis'd it to a faithfull Servant, who never ſpoke to pleaſe, but to ſerve him and the State †. But this generous Sincerity is very rarely to be found; Princes being uſually of King *Achab*'s mind, who calling a council of Prophets, would have *Micah* excluded, becauſe, ſays he, *he doth not prophecy good concerning me, but evil* (22). For this reaſon, Miniſters often run great Riſques, who through zeal are too forward in telling their Thoughts

(19) *Etiam ego & tu ſimpliciſſimè inter nos hodie loquimur, cæteri liberiùs cum fortunâ noſtrâ quam nobiſcum.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (20) *Audiente hæc Tiberio, ac ſilente.* Tac. 2. ann. (21) *Intellexit hæc Tiberius, ut erant magis, quam ut dicebantur.* Tac. 3. ann. * Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. (22) 1 Kings 22. 8.

of

of future dangers, that they may be ſeaſonably prevented. For Princes had rather not know them than fear them; their ears are prepar'd for the ſoft Harmony of Muſick, but can't bear the jarring ſounds of impending dangers. Whence they choſe for their Counſellors and Confidents, ſuch as will tell them nothing but what they approve of (23), and not what God inſpires as the Prophet *Micah* did (24). What wonder then, if without the light of Truth they loſe their way and are loſt?

Would theſe Tell-truths be guided by Prudence, doubtleſs a Prince would more value Truth, than vain and empty Flattery; but there are few who uſe it ſeaſonably, or with that Modeſty and Addreſs that is requiſite. For all that are free are moroſe, and offend Princes with the aſperity of their Looks, eſpecially when arm'd with Truth; for ſome Vertues are odious, ſuch as obſtinate Severity, and a Spirit not to be gain'd by favours. For Princes think themſelves ſlighted, when they ſee thoſe meaſures, which are uſually taken to obtain their favour are contemn'd, thinking he who does not ſtudy to acquire them, neither acknowledges himſelf their Subject, nor has occaſion for them. The Superiour uſes the Lancet or inciſion Knife of Truth, to cure the diſtempers of the inferiour, but this only a cauſtick, which without pain benumbs, and wears away the parts infected in the Superiour. To be troubleſome with unſeaſonable and improper Truths, is rather Malice than Zeal, rather Saucineſs that Admonition. God himſelf uſes ſingular Prudence and Caution in revealing them; for though he might have told *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* their future Calamities by *Joſeph* and *Daniel*; yet he choſe rather to do it by Dream, when the Senſes were lull'd and Majeſty buried in Sleep, and even then not clearly, but by Figures and Hieroglyphicks, that there might be ſome time allow'd for their Interpretation, to avoid ſudden Terrour and Conſternation, as alſo the danger of the Miniſters,

(23) After their own Luſts they ſhall heap to themſelves teachers, 2 *Tim.* 4. 3. (24) And *Micah* ſaid, as the Lord liveth, even what my God ſaith, that will I ſpeak, 2 *Chron.* 18. 13.

ſhould

ſhould they unask'd declare ſuch things (25). 'Tis ſufficient, if the Miniſter can make the Prince underſtand them; which if he can effect by ſigns, let him not uſe words. Yet are there ſome ſo imprudent, that they glory in bold Truths, and are fond to be the bearers, nay ſometimes the inventers of ill News. Let theſe learn of what befell King *Balſhazzar*, to whom the hand that pronounc'd his death upon the Wall, was not wholly viſible, but only the fingers appear'd, and but the ends of them neither; ſo that it could not in the leaſt be diſcover'd, who guided them; nor this by day light but by night, writing that decretory Sentence by Candle-light, upon the Wall in ſuch Characters, as required ſome time to be underſtood. While therefore the intention is good, and accompanied by Prudence, 'twill be eaſie to walk a ſecure and middle path, between the Slavery of Flattery and the Arrogance of Truth; for all Truths may be ſpoken, provided it be with diſcretion, by propoſing only the amendment of thoſe to whom they are directed. Thus the diſcretion and addreſs of *Agricola* mollified the ſtern humour of *Domitian* (27). He who with his Services and Modeſty mingles Valour and Induſtry, may live ſafe under the worſt of Princes (28); and gain more Reputation, than thoſe, who by being too ambitious of Glory, do fooliſhly ruin themſelves, without any advantage to the State; by this circumſpection *M. Lepidus* turn'd to his advantage many dangerous Flatteries, and preſerv'd the favour of *Tiberius* (29). *Thraſea Pætus*'s going out of the Senate, to avoid being preſent at the Votes, which to flatter *Tiberius*, they were making againſt the Memory of *Agrippina*, was pernicious to the Senate, and dangerous to himſelf, without giving any foundation to the peoples Liberty, as he propoſed (30).

(25) Gen. 41. 22. & Dan. 4 2. (27) *Moderatione tamen prudentiâque Agricolæ leniebatur, quia non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam, fatumque provocabat.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (28) *Poſſe etiam ſub malis Principibus magnos viros eſſe.* Tac in vit. Agric. (29) *Nam pleraque ab ſævis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum æquabili authoritate, & gratiâ apud Tiberium viguerit.* Tac. 4. ann. (30) *Thraſea Pætus ſilentio vel brevi aſſenſu priores adulationes tranſmittere ſolitus, exiit, tum Senatu, ac ſibi cauſam periculi fecit, cæteris libertatis initium non præbuit.* Tac. 14. ann.

Truth

Truth is yet more dangerous in those, who avoiding Flattery, to seem free and plain, carp at the actions and failures of Princes, with sharp Jests, which stick long by the great ones, especially where they are grounded upon Truth (31): As *Vestinus* found by *Nero*, who put him to death for reprehending his Vices with too much freedom (32). To speak Truth only to publish the faults of the Government, is a kind of freedom which looks like Advice, but is Reflection; it appears Zeal but is Malice. And this I look upon as not less pernicious than Flattery it self. For if one be an odious Slavery, the other is a false kind of Liberty. Hence the wisest Princes dread freedom as much as Flattery, neither being safe, and therefore the extremes of both are to be avoided; which was observ'd in the time of *Tiberius* (33) Yet 'tis certain, there ought to be some allowance for Flattery, thereby to introduce Truth; for not to flatter in somethings, is to accuse in every thing; and in a corrupt Government, there is as much to be fear'd from too much as too little Flattery (34). The State would be in a desperate condition, and the Prince inhuman and barbarous, if neither Truth nor Flattery durst approach him. He would be like an Adder, if he should be deaf to that Flattery which would perswade him to what is glorious and honourable (35). With such as these God threatned the people of *Jerusalem* by the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *I will send Serpents among you, Cockatrices which will not be charm'd, and they shall bite you* (36). That Mind is wild and savage, which a gentle and modest Flattery can't sooth into good Temper, and Compliance with its wholsome Advice. Truth being of it self something bitter, we must sweeten the brim of the Cup, that Princes may drink with more pleasure: They won't hear it if it be dry, nay are often worse for it.

(31) *Tiberius acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud prepotentes in longum memoria est.* Tac. 5. ann. (32) *Sæpe asperis facetiis illusus, quæ ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt.* Tac. 15. ann. (33) *Unde angusta & lubrica oratio sub Principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.* Tac. 2. ann. (34) *Quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps, si nulla, & ubi nimia est.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) Psal. 57. 6. (36) Jer. 8. 17.

The

The more *Tiberius*'s Cruelty was exclaim'd againſt, the more ſevere and bloody he grew (37). 'Tis of uſe ſometimes to commend ſome famous actions in them, as if they had actually done them, that they may be thereby prompted to put them in execution; or to be extravagant in the commendation of Valour or other Vertues, that they may be the more eager to follow them. This enflames the mind more to honour than Flattery. *Theſe means*, ſays *Tacitus*, *the* Roman *Senate us'd to* Nero *in the beginning of his Reign* (38). 'Tis of very ill conſequence to commend Vices under the name of Vertues; for this is encouraging Princes to commit greater. *Nero* ſeeing his Severity taken for Juſtice, became a perfect Tyrant (39). We ill conſult our own Liberty, Fortunes and Lives, in endeavouring to extend the unjuſt power of Princes beyond their due bounds, by adminiſtring them means to ſatisfie their Ambition and Luſts. Scarce any Prince would be bad, were not his Miniſters Flatterers. They gain that favour by publick Miſchief, which they can't merit by their Vertues. Prodigious Villany! For a momentary favour, which they are very often diſappointed of too, or rather ruin'd with, to betray their Country and promote Tyranny! What wonder, if God chaſtiſes Subjects for the faults of Princes, if they are the cauſe of them, while Princes act all by their Miniſters, who teach them ſeveral ways of burthening their Subjects with Taxes, of oppreſſing the Nobility, and turning the Government into Tyranny, by violating Privileges, Laws and Cuſtoms, and ſo are at laſt their own Executioners.

(37) *Cæſar objectam ſibi adverſus reos inclementiam, eo pervicacius amplexus eſt.* Tac. 4. ann. (38) *Magnis patrum laudibus, ut juvenilis animus levium quoque rerum gloria ſublatus, majores continuaret.* Tac. 13. ann. (39) *Poſtquam cuncta ſcelerum pro egregiis aſcipi videt, exturbat Octaviam.* Tac. 14. ann.

EMBLEM XLIX.

MANY reaſons make me doubt, whether the chance of birth has any part of the favour or hatred of Princes; or whether our Conduct and Prudence, can, without ambition and peril, find a ſecure path, between a froward Obſtinacy, and a deſpicable Slavery. There ſeems to be a certain occult force, which, if it does not compell, does at leaſt move our Will, and incline it to one more than another: and if in the Senſes and natural Appetites there is a Sympathy and Antipathy to things, why not in the Affections and Paſſions? They may perhaps, have more power and force over the Appetite than the Will, becauſe that is more a Rebell to Free-Will than this, but it can't be deny'd, but that the inclination too is of great force, being generally attended by reaſon, eſpecially when Art and Prudence know how to adapt themſelves to the humour

mour of the Prince. We see in all things as well animate as inanimate, a secret Correspondence and Friendship, whose chains are easier broken than parted. Neither the injuries nor adversities which King *John* the Second suffer'd for his affection to *Alvarez de Luna*, nor the apparent danger of the latter, could dissolve that firm bond of Friendship with which their Souls were united. And though this inclination be not natural, yet gratitude for past Services, or the extraordinary merits of the Subject usually produce it. Vertue is of it self amiable, and gratefull to the Will. 'Twould be barbarous to oblige a Prince to balance his affections with indifferency to all, for they proceed from the heart by the Eyes and Hands: what stanch severity can always resist the charms of favour? How reserv'd was *Philip* the Second? Yet had he not one but many particular Favourites. God himself had some whom he peculiarly favour'd, giving them power to stop the course of the Sun and Moon (1); The Lord obeying the voice of man (2). And why (as King *Peter* observ'd) is particular Friendship allow'd to private persons and not to Princes? Many are the troubles of Government, to alleviate which, 'twill be necessary to have some one near you in whom you can put a more particular Confidence. There are many difficulties in it, which are not to be surmounted by one. The burthen of a Crown is too weighty and cumbersome for one to bear, the strongest yield to it, and, as *Job* says, bend under it. For this reason, though God was assistant to *Moses*, and supply'd him with ability and instructions to administer his Office, yet he commanded to make use of the elders in the Government of his people, that they might help to bear the burthen (3). And *Jethro* his Father in-Law, thought the burthen greater than he was able to bear (4). *Alexander* took *Parmeno* to his assistance;

(1) And he said in the sight of *Israel*, Sun, stand thou still upon *Gibeon*; and thou Moon, in the valley of *Ajalon*. *Jos.* 10. 12. (2) The Lord harkened to the voice of man, for the Lord fought for *Israel*, *Ibid.* (3) And they shall bear the burthen of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thy self alone, *Numb.* 11. 17. (4) For this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thy self alone, *Exod.* 18. 18.

David,

David, *Joab*; *Solomon*, *Zadock*; *Darius*, *Daniel*; by whoſe directions they ſucceeded in their affairs. No Prince is ſo prudent and diſcreet, as of himſelf to know all things, nor ſo carefull and diligent, as to manage all affairs alone. Which natural impotency oblig'd Princes to erect Courts and Counſels, and to create Preſidents, Governours, and Viceroys, in whom the power and authority of Princes might reſide. *For alone* (ſays King *Alphonſo* the Wiſe) *they can't penetrate and examin all things, but have need of the aſſiſtance of others, in whom they can confide, who ſhould uſe the power which they receive in performing thoſe things which Princes can't do themſelves* †. And if Princes uſe the aſſiſtance of Miniſters abroad, why ſhould he not in the more private affairs of his Cabinet? 'Tis neceſſary he ſhould have ſome one near him, whom he may deliberate with about the Advice and Counſel which is given him. That he may with him compare his own Scruples and Propoſitions, and be by him inſtructed. Whom, in fine, he may ſafely truſt to expedite and execute Affairs (5). Would it not be worſe, if embarraſs'd with ſuch weighty cares, he ſhould communicate himſelf to none? Beſides, 'tis abſolutely neceſſary that the Prince ſhould have ſome aſſiſtant, who, diſengag'd from all other buſineſs, ſhould be as a Mediator between him and his people: Otherwiſe it would be impoſſible for him to hear and ſatisfie all, nor would it ſuit with his Majeſty. For this reaſon, the *Iſraelites* beſought *Moſes* that he would ſpeak to God for them, for they themſelves were afraid of his Preſence (6). And *Abſalom*, that he might render *David* odious to the people, urg'd that he had no Miniſters about him to receive the complaints of the diſtreſſed (7). The Zeal and Prudence of a Favourite may with eaſe rectifie the defects of Government, and the inclinations of Prin-

† L. 3. tit. 1. p. 2. (5) *Solatium curarum frequenter ſibi adhibent maturi Reges, & hinc meliores æſtimantur, ſi ſoli omnia non præſumunt.* Caſſiod lib 8. epiſt 9. (6) Exod. 20. 19. (7) Thy matters are good and right, but there is no man deputed of the King to hear thee, 2 *Sam.* 15. 3.

ces (8). *Agricola* by his prudent address, reclaim'd *Domitian*, and though *Sejanus* was bad, *Tiberius* was worse, when without him he follow'd his own inclinations (9). And truly by such Favourites God often saves a whole Kingdom, as he did *Syria* by *Naaman*, and *Ægypt* by *Joseph* (10). Since then 'tis necessary that the weight of Government should be divided; 'tis natural in the choice of such an assistant to be guided in some measure by inclination, or some secret Sympathy in the persons of each; which choice, if it be founded upon desert, can be no ways dangerous; nay, 'tis requisite that the humour of the party whom the Prince takes to assist him, should be chosen to him. The question is. Whether one or many should be chosen to this Office; if many equally favour'd and respected, Emulation will arise, and their Counsels will thwart one another to the detriment of the State. So that it seems more agreeable to natural order, that affairs should be committed to one alone, who should supervise the rest, and by whom affairs should come digested and methodized to the Prince, who should only substitute him to his cares and trouble, not his power and authority, in his Counsels not his Rewards. The Sun alone imparts Light to the whole world, and when he sets, he leaves not many but only one Vicegerent, the Moon, with a Lustre much greater than that of the other Stars, who seem but as so many inferiour Ministers to assist her. Yet neither this nor those shine with their own, but borrow'd Light, which the Earth acknowledges receiv'd from the Sun. Nor does this favour misbecome Majesty, when a Prince devolves part of the burden of Affairs upon his Favourite, so as to preserve the sovereign power and authority to himself: for this is not favour but imployment, not so much an obligation, as a communication of trouble; nor is this so much to be envied, if Princes would be so prudent, as to give it another

(8) *Qui in regiæ familiaritatis sacrarium admittuntur multa facere possunt, & dicere, quibus pauperum necessitas subleveturr, faveatur religio, fiat æquitas; Ecclesia dilatetur.* Petr. Blis. Epist. 150. (9) *Obtectis libidinibus, dum Sejanum dilexit, timuitve: posiremò in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore, & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur.* Tac. 6. ann. (10) 2 Kings 5. 1.

name;

name; as President of the Council, or Chancellour; as the Magistrates call'd *Præfecti* at *Rome*, incurr'd no Envy, though they were second *Cæsars*.

The felicity of Subjects consists not in the Prince's being like a loadstone, attractive of Iron and not of Gold, but in his knowledge in chusing such a Minister as will attribute whatever is great and commendable to him; and take all the Reflections and Odium of the people upon himself; one whose mind is wholly bent upon the publick good; who manages affairs without Ambition; hears without Disdain and debates without Passion; whose Resolves and Determinations have no respect to self-interest. In a word, whose whole aim is the service and advantage of his Country, not himself, or the preservation of his Master's favour. By this rule one may know whether this Familiarity proceed from pure Zeal or Tyranny. Princes ought to take great care in the choice of such a Minister, endeavouring not to be byas'd by Affection or fansifull Inclination, but by rare and excellent Qualifications and Merits, for sometimes such Friendship is not the result of deliberation but accident; it is not favour but diligence: Courts usually erect and adore some Idol which they deify, and treat with Royal Splendor and Magnificence; they worship it upon their Knees, burn Tapers, and offer Incense to it, imploring its assistance with Prayers and Vows (11). As industry can change the course of Rivers, and turn them another way; so it often happens that those who have business at Court, not regarding the Prince, the true channel of affairs, apply themselves to the Favourite, whose arts do, by this, so secure the Prince's favour, that he can never disengage himself from it. No Prince was more cautious, none more free than *Tiberius*, yet was he subject to his Favourite *Sejanus* (12). In which case 'tis difficult to say, whether such favour be human choice, or some superiour power, for the greater good or

(11) And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a God, which a little before was but honoured as a man, *Wisd.* 14. 20. (12) *Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversus alios, sibi uni incautum, intellumque efficeret.*

ill of the Commonwealth: The Holy Spirit ſays, 'tis a particular judgment of God (13). *Tacitus* attributes the favour and fall of *Sejanus* to the anger of the Gods for the ruin of the Empire (14). A misfortune ſcarce avoidable, when this favour falls upon a perſon of great quality, as it uſually does in Courts where the chief of the Nobility are Miniſters. For he who is once poſſeſs'd of it, will, by the preheminence of his Birth and Grandure of his Family endeavour what he can to preſerve it, nor will he eaſily ſuffer himſelf to be ſupplanted by any one. As was ſeen in *John Alphonſo Robles*, in the time of King *John* the Second †. The heart of a Prince is never ſafe in the power of a Subject, whoſe Nobility and Authority make him too much reſpected by others. Though this inconveniency is leſſen'd, when this favour falls upon ſome great man who is truly zealous and intent upon his Prince's Service, and the honour and welfare of his Country, for then the people's Envy and Odium will not be ſo great, and the orders which are diſpatch'd through the hands of ſuch a one will be the more readily obſerv'd; yet 'tis always highly neceſſary, if a Prince could balance his favour between his own Authority and the Merits of his Favourite, to commit only that part of the adminiſtration to him, which he cannot manage himſelf; for ſhould he commit it wholly to him, he would experience the ſame misfortunes with King *Ahaſuerus*, when he entruſted *Haman* with the Government of his people (15). Let him not give by another's hand what he can diſpoſe of with his own; nor borrow others Eyes, when he can ſee with his own. As to what is done in Courts of Juſtice and Councils, let him afterwards conſult the Preſidents and Secretaries, from whoſe relations he may receive a juſt account of the affairs therein tranſacted; and his Reſolutions will be more conciſe and ready, when he confers with thoſe by whom the affairs have been managed. This method the Popes and Emperors uſe, as did alſo the Kings of *Spain* till

(13) Prov. 29. 26. (14) *Non tam ſolertia (quippe iiſdem artibus victus eſt) quam deûm ira in rem Romanam, cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque.* Tac. 4. ann. † Mar. hiſt. Hiſp. lib. 20. l. 15. (15) Eſth. 3. 11.

Philip

Philip the Second, who being an excellent Pen-man, introduc'd the custom of taking debates and consultations in writing, which afterwards prevailing, gave rise to private favour: for the Kings being embarass'd with such a vast number of writings were oblig'd to communicate them to some one, and this must of necessity be a Favourite. On such a one let a Prince bestow more peculiar marks of favour and benevolence. For he who merits his favour and shares his trouble, ought to have Pre-eminence above others. The shadow of St. *Peter* worked Miracles (16). What wonder then, if a Prince's Favourite, who is but his shadow, acts with more Authority than others? Nevertheless, some favours should be reserv'd for others; nor should those other be so great, as to exceed the condition of a Subject, and make him equal to the Prince, so as to have Court made to him as Co-partner in the Empire, and to draw the whole body of affairs after him, which derogates much from the Authority and Esteem of the Prince. A Favourite should act as the shadow not the Substance. In this the Kings of *Castile*, who, in times past, had Favourites, run great Risques; for as the power of the Kings being then not so large, how little soever they granted, it endanger'd the whole Kingdom; as it befell King *Sancho* the Strong, for his favour to *Lopez de Hara*; King *Alphonso* the Eleventh, for his to Count *Alvaro Osorio*; King *John* the Second, and King *Henry* the Fourth, for theirs to *Alvaro de Luna*, and *John Pacheco*. The whole point of Favouritism consists in the Prince's knowing how much he ought to allow his Favourite, and he how much he ought to receive from his Prince. Whatever exceeds this rule, creates (as we shall mention anon) Jealousie, Envy and Danger (17).

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(16) Acts 5. 15. (17) *Sed uterque mensuram implevimus & tu quantum princeps tribuere amico posses, & ego quantum amicus à principe accipere: cætera invidiam augent.* Tac. 14. ann.

EMBLEM L.

THE Mountain looks down with disdain upon the other works of Nature, and proudly rises above them; so as to have communication with the Skies. Let not the Vallies envy it this Glory, for though it be nearer the favours of Heaven, 'tis also more expos'd to the strokes of its Thunder too. About its head Clouds gather, and Storms prepare their rage, and upon it they first exert it. 'Tis the same in Offices and Imployments more immediately under Princes. The Activity of their power is most offensive to those who are neareſt it. Their Conversation is as venomous as that of a Viper (1). Whoever walks among them, walks among Snares, and the Arms of his offended Enemies (2). The favour and disdain of Princes are so im-

(1) Eccles. 9. 13. (2) Ibid.

mediate

mediate, that nothing intervenes. Their Love knows no Moderation; when turn'd to Hatred, it leaps from one extreme to th'other, from Fire to Froſt. The ſame inſtant ſees them love and hate, with the effects of Thunder, which while the noiſe is heard, or the flaſh ſeen, reduces the bodies to Aſhes. The favour of Princes is like flame, extinguiſh'd with the ſame eaſe 'twas lighted. Nay ſome have thought it abſolutely fatal to thoſe on whom it falls (3). And many examples as well paſt as preſent, are ſufficient evidences of it; we have freſh inſtances of the ſudden falls of the moſt exalted Favourites. The Duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*; the Marſhal *D'Ancre* in *France*; The Duke of *Buckingham* in *England*; *John Olden Barnvelt* in *Holland*; Cardinal *Cleſel* in *Germany*; at *Rome* Cardinal *Nazaret*; yet may this be aſcrib'd to divers cauſes, either becauſe the Prince having given all that he could, or the Favourite obtain'd all he deſir'd, he was mounted to the higheſt ſtep, and ſo muſt of neceſſity deſcend (4). But ſuppoſe there be moderation in the favours of the one, and the ambition of the other; yet what conſtancy can there be in the minds of Princes, which the more vehement they are, are the more ſubject to variety and contradiction? who can fix the affections of him whoſe Senſes ſee double, and is like the firſt matter, not reſting in one form, but pleas'd with variety. Who can preſerve that favour which is liable to ſo many chances and turns of Humour? Who can behave himſelf with ſo nice integrity, as to maintain the Prince's good opinion of him with the people? The Eyes of all are upon the Favourite. The Prince's Friends think him an Uſurper of their Rewards, his Enemies that he incenſes the Prince farther againſt them. Theſe, if they return to their duty, muſt make the diſgrace of the Favourite one of the conditions; thoſe if they forſake it, lay all the blame upon him. Ambition and Envy are always in Arms, intent upon every occaſion to ruin him. The people are ſo imbitter'd againſt him, that they impute

(3) *Fato potentiæ raro ſempiterno.* Tac. 3. ann. (4) *An ſatius capis, aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt; Aut hos, cum jam nihil relictum eſt quod capiant?* Tac. 3. ann.

even natural misfortunes, and the Prince's Vices, all to him. *Bernardo de Cabrera* loſt his head for the Tyrannies of *Peter* the Fourth, King of *Arragon*, whoſe Favourite he was. By the ſame means that a perſon endeavours to gain the favour of the Prince, he incurs the Odium of the Subjects; ſo that it was truly ſaid by that great Man, *Alphonſo de Albuquerque*, Governour of the *Eaſt-Indies*, that a Miniſter in obliging his Prince, offended the People: and if he endeavour to gratifie the People, he diſobliges the Prince.

If this favour be only founded upon exteriour Adoration, fomented by Court-Artifices, 'tis violent and momentary, and the Prince will endeavour to free himſelf from this impos'd involuntary Slavery.

If it proceed from a natural propenſity of the Mind, 'tis very ſubject to ſecond Cauſes, and is effac'd by time or the ingratitude of the Subject, when he forgets from whence he took his riſe (5).

If a perſon's Mein and Carriage do, as it were, raviſh the Prince's favour, it either ſoon fades, or is only ſuperficial, as in common Friendſhip.

If it be from ſome qualifications of Mind greater than thoſe of the Prince, when-ever he knows it, there's an end of his favour, for none can endure in another Pre-eminency in Wit or Valour, which is uſually eſteem'd above Power and Authority.

If it be from aſſiduity and care in buſineſs, diligence is not leſs dangerous than negligence; for ſucceſs does not always correſpond to means, becauſe of the diverſity of accidents; and Princes will be diſappointed in nothing that they wiſh and deſire. Succeſs is attributed to chance, or to the fortune of the Prince, and not to the prudence of the Favourite (6), but miſcarriages to him alone, though the fault be anothers, for all are willing to father Succeſs, but Misfortunes are laid at another's door (7), that is to the Favourite. Even Caſualties are imputed to him, as the falling of

(5) Wiſd. 15. 11. (6) *Hæc eſt conditio Regum, ut caſus tantum adverſos hominibus tribuant, ſecundos fortunæ ſuæ.* Æmil. Prob. (7) *Proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant, adverſa uni imputantur.* Tac. in vit. Agric.

the

the Amphitheatre, and the burning of Mount *Cælius* were to *Sejanus* (8). Nor do they only accuse him in affairs of his own management, but also in those of others, or in those accidents that depend upon the Prince's Will and Nature. Thus *Seneca* was blam'd for that *Nero* would have drown'd his Mother (9). Men cannot imagin a wickedness so strange as was not believ'd of *Sejanus* (10). There is no natural death, of a great Minister or Relation of the Prince, but is immediately reflected upon the Favourite. As was that of Prince *Philip Emanuel*, Son to *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, to the Duke of *Lerma*.

If this favour proceeds from Obligation, and from signal Services perform'd, the Prince will by degrees grow weary of the burthen, and his Love will turn into Hate, because he looks upon him as a Creditor, and being unable to pay him, he seeks pretences to break with him, and so strike off the Debt (11). Acknowledgment is a kind of Slavery. For he who obliges another, makes himself his superiour, which is inconsistent with the Sovereignty of a Prince, whose power is diminished, if it be not greater than the obligation: and Princes being oppress'd with the weight of Gratitude and Obligation, become notoriously ungratefull, that they may discharge themselves from them (12). The Emperour *Adrian* put *Titian* to death, who had been his Tutor from a Boy, and to whom he ow'd his Empire: Not to mention that the fatigues of many years are effac'd by one oversight; Princes being more apt to punish a slight offence, than to reward signal Services. If they are honourable, they create Emulation and Envy in the Prince himself, for whose Ser-

(8) *Feralemque annum ferebant, & omnibus adversis susceptum Principi consilium absentia, qui mos vulgò ad culpam fortuita trahentes.* Tac. 4. ann. (9) *Ergo non jam Nero cujus immanitas omnium quæstus anteibat, sed adverso rumore, Seneca erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripsisset.* Tac. 14. ann. (10) *Sed quia Sejanus facinorum omnium repertor habebatur, ex nimia charitate in eum Cæsaris, & cæterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabulosa & immania credebantur.* Tac 4. ann. (11) *Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenêre, pro gratia odium redditur.* Ibid. (12) *Quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt. Leve æs alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum.* Sen. Ep. 19.

vice they are perform'd, for ſome are more angry with thoſe who have ſerv'd them ſucceſsfully and glorioufly, than with thoſe who have been more remiſs and leſs ſucceſsfull, of this humour was *Philip* of *Macedon* (13); a Vice which his Son *Alexander* inherited (14); and was viſible in *James* the Firſt of *Arragon*, who when *Don Blaſco de Alagon* had taken *Morella*, he thought he had gotten more Glory than he in that Expedition, and therefore took from him that City, and gave him in exchange that of *Sagaſto*. The Victories of *Agricola* made *Domitian* jealous, ſeeing that the fame of a private man exceeded his (15). So that in the moſt glorious and ſucceſsfull Exploits there is the greateſt danger.

If favour ſprings from the prompt obedience of the Favourite to the Will of the Prince, it makes the Government incur the above-mention'd inconveniencies of Flattery, and ſoon ruins both the Prince and Favourite; Obedience is as dangerous as diſobedience; for if the command ſucceeds, 'tis aſcrib'd to the Prince, if not, to the Favourite. If this command be not obey'd, 'tis then the reaſon why it ſucceeded not. If it be unjuſt, he dares not make that his excuſe, leſt he offend the Prince; if he obey, the fault is all laid upon him; and the Prince, that he mayn't ſeem the Author of the miſchief, permits him to ſuffer either in the opinion of the People; or in the hands of the Judge. Thus *Tiberius* ſerv'd *Piſo* after he had by his command poiſon'd *Germanicus*, whoſe cauſe he referr'd to the Senate (16); and coming to *Rome*, he behav'd himſelf as if he knew nothing of the matter, leaving him confounded to ſee him ſo unconcern'd and reſerv'd, without either pity or anger (17).

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(13) *Quem ita gloriæ cupidum eſſe dicunt familiares, ut omnia clara facinora ſua eſſe videri cupit, & magis indignatur Ducibus & Præfectis, qui proſpere, & laudabiliter aliquid geſſerint, quam iis qui infeliciter & ignave.* Demoſt. (14) *Suæ demptum gloriæ exiſtimans quicquid ceſſiſſet alienè.* Curt. (15) *Id ſibi maxime formidoloſum, privati hominis nomen ſupra Principis attolli.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (16) *Integram cauſam ad Senatum remiſit.* Tac. 6. ann. (17) *Nullo magis exterritus eſt, quam quod Tiberium ſine miſeratione, ſine ira obſtinatum, clauſumque vidit, ne quo affectu perrumperetur.* Tac. 3. ann.

If

If this favour falls upon a man of small Qualifications and Merit, he will sink under the weight of affairs; for without a brave and vigorous mind, without a quick and piercing Wit, the favour of Princes cannot be long maintain'd.

If it proceeds from a resemblance and conformity of Vertues, when the Prince bids adieu to them the other is at an end. For he will hate the Favourite, as one who accuses his change (18), and whom he can't make use of in the prosecution of his Vices.

If a Prince loves a Favourite, for that he makes use of him as an instrument to execute his vicious designs and inclinations with; what-ever ills do thence arise, either to the King's Person, or to the Government, all fall upon him; and the Prince with ease clears himself by disgracing him; or else hates him as a witness of his Vices, whose presence does, as it were, upbraid him with his crimes. For the same reason *Nero* disgrac'd *Anicetus* the Murtherer of *Agrippina* (19); so *Tiberius* discharg'd those Ministers who had assisted his Cruelty, and made use of others (20). The Odium of the Death, and the favour of him who commands it, end both with the execution, and the Prince thinks he sufficiently clears himself in punishing the crime, as *Plancina* found (21).

If this favour proceed from the communication of important Secrets, he is in danger from them, for they are Vipers in the breast of the Favourite, which gnaw his Entrails till they eat their way out, for either levity or ambition of seeming a man in favour, reveals them, or they are discover'd by another, or by discourse, which are equally pernicious to the Favourite. But though this should not happen, the Prince will be willing to free himself from the care of having entrusted them, by tearing open the bag in

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(18) Wisd 2. 15. (19) *Levi post admissum scelus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur.* Tac. 14. ann. (20) *Qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiatus, & oblatis in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & pregraves adfixit.* Tac 4 ann (21) *Ut odium & gratia desiere, jus valuit.* Tac. 6 ann.

which

which they are hid: as many Secrets ſo many dangers (22).

Nor is the danger leſs, if this favour proceeds from the Favourites being conſcious of the Prince's Cowardice and Baſeneſs; for ſuch favour is rather fear than inclination, nor will a Prince indure, that his honour ſhould depend upon another's ſilence, or that there ſhould be one who inwardly ſhould deſpiſe him.

If this favour be but ſmall, it can't reſiſt the fury of Envy, but is blown down by every blaſt, like a tree not firmly rooted.

If it be great, it creates Envy and Fear in the Prince himſelf, and ſo makes him carefull to free himſelf from it; as when we have pil'd Stones upon Stones, we at laſt fear leſt the heap which we have rais'd, ſhould fall upon our own heads, and ſo puſh them over th'other way. The Prince ſees the Statue which he erected ſhades his own Grandure, and ſo pulls it down again. I may venture to ſay, that Princes ſeem to delight to ſhew their power, as well in pulling down thoſe images as in erecting them; for their power being limited, can't ſeem immenſe, unleſs it return to the center from which it proceeded, or keep in a circle.

Theſe are the rocks againſt which, if the ſhip of favour ſtrike, 'tis loſt, ſo much the ſurer, by how much the more ſail it makes. But if any one ſcape, 'tis either becauſe it recover'd port in time, or that it ran firſt upon the ſhore of Eternity. Is there then any Pilot ſo skilfull as to know how to manage the helm of favour, and to ſail in ſo very dangerous a Gulf? What prudence, what art can ſave him? What Chymiſt can fix this Mercury of Princes Affections? eſpecially, when favour founded upon eminent merit can't reſiſt Envy and the Machinations of ſo many as conſpire its ruin. Neither the Kings *Darius* nor *Achis* could defend their favour to *Daniel* and *David*, againſt the hatred of the Princes and Guards (23); but were forc'd for their ſatisfaction, to baniſh one, and throw the other into a Den of Lions, though they were well aſſured of their In-

(22) Iſa. 24. 16. *vid. lat. verſ.* (23) Dan. 6 4.

tegrity

tegrity and Innocence (24). Though no prudence nor attention be sufficient to prevent those accidents which depend not upon the Favourite, yet may he do much in things which depend upon him, and at least will be unblameable if he fall into disgrace. Which consideration oblig'd me here to mark out to him the usual causes of his ruin, arising from his own imprudence and the malice of others, that being forewarn'd he may avoid them. If we would attentively consider the Maxims and Actions of former Favourites, and especially of *Sejanus*, we shall find, that most of them fell, because they could not continue those good methods by which they at first obtain'd the Prince's favour. All to merit it, and gain the applause of the people, enter into favour zealous, humble, courteous, and officious, giving counsel for the Glory of the Prince, and Preservation of his Grandure, the method by which *Sejanus* ingratiated himself (25), but being once masters of this favour, they loose the Helm which before guided them, and believe they have no more occasion for it in their Voyage, but can sail securely with the gale of the Prince's favour.

At first they are diligent to appear wholly disengag'd from their own affairs, and only intent upon the Prince's interest, preferring his service even to their own Lives and Fortunes; whence the Prince, persuaded that he has got in this person a faithful associate in his labours, loves him and extolls him every-where; as *Tiberius* did *Sejanus* to the Senate and People (26).

They endeavour farther by some generous and heroick action to prove their fidelity to the Prince and win his heart. Thus *Sejanus* ingratiated himself with *Tiberius*, by sustaining with his own hands and head, the weight of a Precipice which would else have fallen upon *Tiberius*, causing him thereby to put more confidence in his Friendship and Constancy (27).

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(24) 1 Sam. 20. 6. (25) *Quia Sejanus, incipiente adhuc potentia, bonis consiliis noteſcere volebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (26) *Ut ſocium laborum non modo in ſermonibus, ſed apud patres & populum celebraret.* Tac 4. ann. (27) *Præbuitque ipſi materiam, cur amicitiæ, conſtantiæque Sejani magis fideret.* Ibid.

Which

Which good opinion of a Favourites fidelity, if a Prince once imbibes, he eaſily fancies himſelf ſecure of it for the future, and willingly takes his advice though never ſo pernicious, putting more confidence in him than in himſelf; as *Tiberius* did after that action (28). And hence proceed very great miſchiefs. For he is blinded by this pre-conceiv'd opinion, nay, and himſelf promotes his Favourite's Credit and Reputation, by permitting extraordinary Honours to be paid him, as *Tiberius* did, hanging *Sejanus*'s picture in the Theatres aud publick Places (29). This whiſper paſſes immediately from one to another, whence is rais'd a new Idol, like that of *Aaron* out of the Ear-rings (30), for either there would be no favour, or at leaſt, 'twould be but of ſhort continuance, without the applauſe of the people: This Honour creates Arrogance and Avarice to ſupport it, the uſual Vices of the great ones (31). The Favourite forgets himſelf, and thoſe good qualities which made him at firſt eſteem'd, by degrees fade, Proſperity inſenſibly diſcloſing thoſe Vices which Policy had a while conceal'd. So it happen'd to *Antonius Primus*, in whom Proſperity diſcover'd Pride, Avarice, and other ill qualities which were before unknown (32). Grandure diſturbs the reaſon, and makes the Favourite aſpire to things above him; thus *Sejanus* offer'd marriage to *Livia* (33). He manages affairs not as a Miniſter, but a companion (which was *Mucian*'s great fault) (34); and would have the Prince but a bare name, reſerving all the authority to himſelf (35). Nor dares any ſay to him what *Bathſheba* ſaid to *David*, *And now behold* Adonijah *reigneth, and now, my Lord the King, thou*

(28) *Major ex eo, & quanquam exitioſa ſuaderet, ut non ſui anxius, cum fide audiebatur.* Ibid. (29) *Colique per theatra & fora effigies ejus, interque principia legionum ſineret.* Ibid. (30) Exod. 32. 4. (31) *Avaritiam & arrogantiam, præcipua validiorum vitia.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (32) *Felicitas in tali ingenio, avaritiam, ſuperbiam, cæteraque occulta mala patefecit* Tac. 3. hiſt (33) *At Sejanus nimiâ fortunâ ſocors, & muliebri inſuper cupidine incenſus, promiſſum matrimonium, flagitante Livia, componit ad Cæſarios codicillos.* Tac. 14 ann. (34) *Mucianus cum expedita manu, ſocium magis imperii quam miniſtrum agens.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) *Vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere.* Tac. 4. hiſt.

knoweſt

knoweſt it not (36). And 'tis the Favourite's whole aim to exceed the Prince in thoſe qualities which are proper to Royalty, that he may be eſteem'd beyond him; which way *Abſalom* made uſe of to diſgrace King *David*, affecting affability and a readineſs to hear the Subjects Complaints; by which he ſtole the hearts of the people (37). A Favourite does not think himſelf ſuch, unleſs his Servants, Relations and Friends participate of his Authority, and ſo for his ſecurity he conferrs the chief Offices of State upon them, and ſo cuts the Nerves of Envy. With this deſign *Sejanus* preferr'd his own Creatures (38). And becauſe this power derogates from the Authority of the Princes of the Blood, who always oppoſe favour, not being able to brook that it ſhould be more eſteem'd than Birth, and that the Prince ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be govern'd by a Subject, on whom they muſt depend, (a danger which *Sejanus* experienc'd in the Family of *Tiberius* (39). The Favourite breeds diſcontent between them and the Prince. Thus *Sejanus* inform'd *Tiberius*, that *Agrippina* conſpir'd againſt him, and *Agrippina* that *Tiberius* deſign'd to poiſon her (40).

If the Favourite ſucceeds in any thing of this nature it emboldens him to proceed farther. After the death of *Druſus*, *Sejanus* had a deſign to cut off the whole Family of *Germanicus*. So that the Favourite being blinded with paſſion and exceſs of power, ſcorns private Artifices, and acts openly againſt the Prince's Relations, as *Sejanus* did againſt *Agrippina* and *Nero*. None dare warn him of the danger of his actions, for all tremble at the Majeſty of his preſence, as the *Iſraelites* did at that of *Moſes*, when he came from converſing with God (41) And as he ſees himſelf as much reſpected as the Prince, he conſpires againſt him (42), and oppreſſes his Subjects, knowing he can't gain their good Will; which makes them in Deſpair, doubt, whether his Avarice and Cruelty would not be leſs, were

(36) 1 Kings 1 18. (37) 2 Sam. 15. 6. (38) *Neque Senatorio ambitu abſtinebat, clientes ſuos honoribus aut provinciis ornando.* Tac. 4. ann. (39) *Ceterum plena Cæſarum domus, juvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram capitis adferebant.* Tac. 4. ann. (40) *Immiſſis qui per ſpeciem amicitiæ monerent, paratum ei venenum, vitandas ſoceri epulas.* Tac. 4. ann. (41) Exod. 34. 30. (42) Eſth. 16. 2.

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he really their Prince, than now when not being ſo, he treats them as Slaves and Strangers. Which *Otho* conſider'd in a Favourite of *Galba* (43).

All attempts of this kind augment the danger, for Envy encreaſes, and Malice arms againſt the Favourite, who thinking he can't overcome it, but by ſome greater, applies all the means that Emulation of favour, more furious than that of Love, can ſuggeſt. And ſince the ſecurity of his favour depends upon the conſtancy of the Prince's Will, he endeavours to oblige him, by pleaſures and voluptuouſneſs, the main inſtruments of favour, which *Vitellius*'s Courtiers made uſe of to preſerve his (44). And leaſt the Prince ſhould give credit to any, he makes him diffident of all, the good eſpecially, for them he fears moſt. By this artifice *Vatinius* (45), and *Sejanus* ingratiated themſelves (46).

The Favourite conſidering, that nothing is more oppoſite to favour than the capacity of the Prince, makes it his whole endeavour, to keep him from knowing, underſtanding, ſeeing or hearing any thing, or having any one about him to inform him He procures his averſion to buſineſs and fatigue, by filling his mind with the diverſions of Hunting, Plays, and Banquets, that his Senſes being diverted, neither his Eyes may inſpect Tranſactions, nor his Ears hear the Murmurs and Complaints of his people. Thus in the Sacrifices of the Idol *Moloch*, the Prieſts made a noiſe with Drums and Trumpets, to drown the Cries and Groans of the dying Infants. Sometimes by a farther fetch, he embaraſſes and confounds him with Affairs and Papers, on purpoſe to tire him quickly, ſo we ride Colts in a boggy ground to break them, and make them ſooner take the Bit. To which end he perſwades him to aſſiſt at Audiences, by which being wholly wearied, he may commit the manage-

(43) *Minore avaritia, aut licentia graſſatus eſſet Vinius ſi ipſe imperaſſet, nunc & ſubjectos nos habuit tanquam ſuos, & viles ut alienos.* Tac. 1. hiſt. (44) *Unum ad potentiam iter prodigis epulis, & ſumptu, ganeaque ſatiare inexplebiles Vitellii libidines.* Tac. 2. hiſt. (45) *Optimi cujuſque criminatione eouſque valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi, etiam malos præmineret.* Tac. 15. ann. (46) *Sui obtegens in alios criminator.* Tac. 4. ann.

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ment of all to the Favourite, thinking it ſufficient to have an account of affairs from him. Whence (as *Jeremiah* ſaid of the *Babyloniſh* Idols) the Prince is nothing but what the Favourite pleaſes (47).

He would not have Affairs go ſmoothly and with ſucceſs, for any one can ſail in a Calm, but he wiſhes that the Sea may run high, and that the State may be ſo toſs'd by the Waves, that the Prince may be afraid to put his hand to the Helm, and ſo have more need of him. And then to ſtop at all Avenues to Truth, and remain ſole manager of Affairs beyond the reach of Envy, he draws him from Court to ſome Retreat among his own Creatures. So *Sejanus* perſwaded *Tiberius* to retire from *Rome* (48).

All theſe Arts redound much to the prejudice of the State, and the Princes reputation, and he who hawks after a Prince's favour by theſe means, does him more injury than one who openly offends him (49). For an offence is given by one fault, but favour is not acquir'd under many, and theſe always derogate from the Honour of the Prince, and are oppoſite to the publick Welfare. A State ſuffers much upon the ſudden death of its Prince, but this grievance is ſoon remedied in his Succeſſor, which can't be, when the Prince is by theſe arts render'd unſerviceable to the Government, this misfortune muſt continue as long as he lives, to the utmoſt Detriment of the Commonwealth. And as 'tis daily more and more felt, it creates Diſcontent and Murmurs among all, who find that this favour is not voluntary but violent, not choice but force, and many grounding their fortune upon his diſgrace, he being an impediment to their promotion; theſe, I ſay, being always

(47) Baruch 6. 46. (48) *Ac ne aſſiduos in domum cœtus arcendo, infringeret potentiam, aut recipiendo facultatem criminantibus præberet; huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amœnis locis degendam, impelleret: multa quippe providebat. Sub in manu aditus, literarumque magna ex parte ſe arbitrum fore, cum per milites commearent: mox Cæſarem vigente jam ſenectâ ſecretoque loci mollitum munia imperii facilius tranſmiſſarum: & minui ibi invidiam, adempta ſalutantum turbâ, ſublatiſque manibus vera potentia augere.* Tac 4. ann. (49) *Plura ſæpe peccantur dum demeremur, quam cum offendimus.* Tac. 15. ann.

arm'd

arm'd againſt him, 'tis impoſſible but that at laſt they ſhou'd find an opportunity to diſplace him, or that the Prince ſhould not at laſt perceive the trick, and that all the Envy and Odium conceiv'd againſt the Favourite falls upon him, as *Tiberius* at laſt found (50): and then the Prince beginning to open his Eyes, at the ſame time begins to fear the power which he has given his Favourite; which made *Tacitus* doubt whether *Tiberius* more lov'd or fear'd *Sejanus* (51); and as before his favour rais'd him, ſo now his hate procures his ruin.

This is the critical point of favour, in which all are in danger, for neither can the Prince diſſemble his diſſatisfaction, nor the Favourite remain conſtant in his Diſgrace, whence both being diſguſted the bond of Amity is broken. The Prince regards the Favourite as unworthy his favour, and he him as ungratefull for his Services, and believing that the Prince can't be without him, and that he muſt ſhortly recall him, he withdraws a while from Court, and gives occaſion to another to intermeddle in Affairs, and foment the new rais'd diſguſts, whence in a ſhort time the favour is turn'd into hatred, the impatience of the Favourite haſtning his ruin. The report of his Diſgrace ſpreads, and all grow inſolent and inſult over him, it being now not in the power of the Prince himſelf to aſſiſt him. His Relations and Friends fore-ſeeing his fall, and the danger which threatens them, fear leſt they too ſhould be involv'd in the ruin (52). As a lofty Tree falling cruſhes all that grow under the ſhadow of its Branches; nay theſe are the chief promoters of his fall, that they may get out of danger themſelves, all joining, ſome as Friends, ſome as Enemies, to puſh down this falling Wall (53). The Prince aſham'd of himſelf, ſtrives to free himſelf from this Subjection, and to regain his credit, by making the Favourite the principal cauſe of all miſcarriages, ſo that he is caught in his own Snares without

(50) *Perque invidiam tui, meque queque incuſant.* Tac. 4. ann. (51) *Dum Sejanum dilexit timuitve.* Ibid. (52) *Quidam male alacres, quibus infauſta amicitiæ gravis exitus imminebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (53) Pſal. 61. 4.

being

being able to free himself, as *Sejanus* was (54), and the more he strives to disengage himself, the more he hastens his ruin: For when Favour once sickens it must die, there being no Medicine can recover it.

From all that has been said we may evidently see, that the greatest danger in Favour is in the methods which Ambition takes to preserve it; it being the same with Favourites, as with People who are too curious about their Health, who thinking to preserve it by abundance of Physick, rather destroy it and shorten their days. And as in Distempers of the Body there is no better remedy than Abstinence, leaving the rest to Nature, so when Favour begins to sicken, the best Advice is not to tamper too much with Medicines, but to serve his Prince with sincerity and integrity, without affection or interest, leaving the Operation to Merit and Truth, more durable than Artifice; and using only some Preservatives, such as respect the Favourite, the Prince or his Ministers, or the Court, or the People, or Strangers.

As to the Favourite, he should preserve the same state of Modesty, and Affability that his fortune found him in. He should clear his Looks from the dazling Beams of Favour, as *Moses* did when he spoke to the People, after he came from communing with God (55). *Daniel*, though he was a Favourite to many Kings, waited with the rest in the Anti-Chambers (56). Let him refuse those Honours, which either belong to the Prince, or exceed the Sphere of a Minister, and if any would offer them, let him advertise both himself and him, that he is only a Servant to the Prince, to whom alone those Honours are due: so the Angel inform'd St. *John* when he would have worshipped him (57). Let him not make his Prince's Favour the means whereby to execute his Lusts and Passions Let him hear with Patience, and answer calmly (58), let him not affect others Favour, nor fear their Displeasure, nor conceal his Favour, nor covet Sovereign Power, nor arm against Envy, nor provide against

(54) *Non tam celeritas, quippe iisdem artibus victus est.* Tac. 4. ann. (55) Exod. 34 35. (56) Dan. 2. 49. (57) Revel. 19. 10. (58) Eccles. 12. 9.

Emulation, for in theſe Precautions are very dangerous: Let him fear God and Infamy.

The Favourite is alſo in danger from his Family and Relations, for though the Prince and People do approve of his Actions, it don't thence follow, that they muſt alſo thoſe of his Domeſticks and Relations, whoſe Diſorders, Indiſcretion, Pride, Avarice, and Ambition render him odious and ruin him. Let him not deceive himſelf by thinking, that his own Creatures are the ſupport and ſtrength of his Favour, for he who depends on many, is in danger of many, and therefore 'tis better to keep them within remembrance of their former Condition, and far from the management of Affairs, that others may ſee they hold no part in the Government, nor his Favour, or that they are preferr'd meerly for being his Servants. But if they are perſons of Worth and Merit, I would not that their being the Favourites Servants and Relations ſhould prejudice them. Chriſt has taught us this Point, giving to his Relations the Dignity of forerunner and Apoſtle, but not that of Teacher of Nations, and that of the Pontificate, which were due to the Faith of St. *Peter*, and the Learning of St. *Paul*.

With the Prince let him obſerve theſe Maxims. Let him always preſuppoſe, that his Favour or Affection is very ſubject to change, and if any ſuch change ſhould happen, he enquire not into the Cauſe thereof, nor pretend to take notice of it, that the Prince may not ſuſpect him, nor his Rivals hope his Fall, for he is in danger of it when he but thinks of it. Let him not build his Favour upon the inclination and fancy of the Prince, but upon his own Merit; for if the Gold of Favour be not well tempered with that Allay, it can never endure the Hammer of Emulation. Let him love more the Dignity than the perſon of a Prince. Let him moderate his Zeal by Prudence, and guide his underſtanding by that of the Prince, for none can ſuffer a a Rival in Senſe. Let him think himſelf his Subject not his Companion, and being a Creature, let him not pretend to equal his Creator (59); let him eſteem it honourable, and

(59) *Eccleſ.* 2. 12.

glorious

glorious to ruin himself to augment his Grandeur. Let him advise with a modest, agreeable and sincere Freedom (60), without fear of Danger or Ambition of being accounted zealous and stanch in his Opinion. Let him make no Affair his own, nor think his Reputation concern'd in its Success, nor be disgusted that his Sentiments are rejected, or that being admitted they were afterwards altered, for such Attempts are very dangerous.

In Debates and Resolutions, let him be neither so hot as to flame, nor so cold as to freeze, but keep a moderate pace according to time and opportunity. Let him be more intent upon his Duty than his Favour, but without Affectation or vain Glory, for he who serves only for Reputation, robs the Prince of his (61). Let his Silence be *à propos*, and his words close and ready upon occasion, which quality King *Theodorick* commended in one of his Favourites (62). Let him prefer his Princes Service to his own interest, nay let them be both one. Let him pay due Veneration to the Royal Family, esteeming their Friendship his greatest Security, without fomenting Differences between them and the Prince, for Blood is easily reconcil'd to the ruin of the Favourite. Let him take care that the Prince has always good Servants, and faithful Ministers about him, and let him instruct him faithfully in the Art of Government. Let him neither shut his Eyes, nor stop his Ears, but rather take care that he see, touch and feel all things himself. Let him discreetly inform him of his Errours and Failures, without fear of offence, if necessity requires. For though his Favour may sicken for a time, 'twill recover again when he finds his Errour, as it happen'd to *Daniel* with the Kings of *Babylon* (63). When the Prince resolves or determines any thing through Heat or Passion, he should endeavour to bend not break those Resolutions, waiting while time and the inconveniencies thereof convince him of his Errour. Let him not prevent his hearing Peoples Complaints, and

(60) Prov. 22. 11. (61) Luk. 17. 10. (62) *Sub Genii nostri luce intrepidus quidem, sed reverenter astabat, opportunè tacitus, necessariè co-piosus*, Cass. lib. 5. Ep. 3. (63) Prov. 28 23.

Satyrs, for when they fall upon Innocence, they are as Grains of Salt that preſerve Favour, and Admonitions not to err or to amend. Let him aſcribe ſucceſsful Actions to the Prince, but take miſcarriages upon himſelf. Let him always think his ruin ſure and certain, waiting for it with Conſtancy, and a free and diſintereſs'd mind, without being over ſollicitous to eſtabliſh his Favour, for he falls ſooneſt from a Precipice who fears it moſt. The reflection of the danger diſturbs the Brain, and we grow giddy with looking from an height. Whatever Favourites have been thus giddy have certainly fell, when thoſe who have not been ſo ſollicitous have paſs'd ſecure (64). Among the Miniſters of State, let him behave himſelf rather as a Companion than a Maſter, rather as a Defender than Accuſer (65). Let him encourage the Good, and endeavour to reform the Bad. Let him not interpoſe his Authority in their Preferments or Removals; and leave to them their own buſineſs. Let him not alter the Courſe of Counſels in Conſultations, nor deny any acceſs to the Prince. If the Prince would have him confer with him, let him declare his Sentiments frankly, without any other Deſign than to conſult for the beſt.

The Court is the moſt dangerous Rock of Favour, and yet all uſe it to eſtabliſh and confirm it; there is not a ſtone in it but would ſtrive to fall, if in falling it might cruſh the Statue of the Favourite, which is as brittle as that of *Nebuchadnezar*, by reaſon of the diverſity of Metals that compos'd it. Not one Courtier is a true Friend to the Favourite; if he chooſes ſome he incurs the Hatred and Envy of the reſt. If he introduces them, he is in danger of being ſupplanted; if he does not he makes them his Enemies. 'Tis therefore the ſafeſt way to walk with indifference to all, and not to intermeddle in the Affairs of any one, but endeavour to ſatisfie all, and (if poſſible) rather to promote than hinder them in their Pretenſions and Intereſt. If any one ſhall have inſinuated himſelf into the Prince's Favour, 'twill be the beſt way to keep him there; for he who

(64) Prov. 10. 9. (65) Eccleſ. 32. 1.

wreſtles

wrestles with another to throw him down usually falls with him, and opposition confirms Favour. More Favorites have been ruined by striving to displace others, than by advancing them. Let him slight Accusations, or Commendations to the Prince, and leave them to Fortune.

Favour is very subject to the People, for if they disapprove the Favourite, the Prince can never support him against the common Cry; or if he Attempts it, the People usually turn his Judges and Executioners, we having seen a great many fall by their hands. If the People love him to excess he is in danger from thence, for that creates Jealousie and Envy in others, nay in the Prince himself, whence the Peoples Loves are generally short and unlucky (66). And so that the Favourite may walk safe between these two Extreams, he must avoid all occasions of publick Applause and Acclamations. Let him only endeavour to procure to himself a good Esteem, by Piety, Liberality, Complaisance and Affability, making it his Care to see Justice duely administred, that there may be plenty of all things, that the publick Peace be not disturb'd in his time; that Privileges be not violated, nor Novelties introduced into the Government; but above all that there be no Disputes in matters of Religion, nor difference among the Clergy: For he will soon feel the Peoples Rage, if he once incur the name of impious.

Foreigners who want this natural Love for the Prince, depend more upon the Favourite than him, whence they pay him most Respect, that they may by his means accomplish their Designs, to the great dishonour of the Prince, and prejudice of his States. Nay, they often prove the ruin of the Favourite, unless he abundantly satisfie them in their Desires and Requests; wherefore he ought to beware of their Respect, and refuse the incense and worth of Foreigners, letting them who would pay him those Honours know, that he is only the Curtain before the Image, and that 'tis the Prince that works the Miracles.

Ambassadors usually affect the Friendship of the Favou-

(6) *Breves & infaustos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. ann.

rite,

rite, as the moſt effectual means to accompliſh their Affairs, and judging that the diſorders which reſult from Favour, will be of Service to them, they endeavour to foment it, being often introduc'd thereto by the Favourite himſelf, and as they take occaſion to commend them in Audiences, and ſeem at firſt ſight free from Intereſt and Emulation, it has often very good Effect, yet for all this they are dangerous Friends; for the Favourite can't preſerve their Friendſhip without great Detriment to the Prince and State. And if in conſideration of his Duty, he does not abundantly ſatisfie them, they are utter Enemies and leave no ſtone unturn'd to ruin him. 'Tis therefore ſafeſt not to be more engag'd to them than the Princes Service will permit. Endeavouring only to gain the Reputation abroad of a ſincere and affable Perſon, and one who would rather preſerve the good Correſpondences and Alliances of his Prince, than break 'em.

A timely Application of theſe Preſervatives may perhaps prevent a Favourites fall, but when he has once incurr'd the *Odium* and Envy of the people, theſe are look'd upon as Tricks and Artifices, and more endanger him. As it happened to *Seneca* who took no method to prevent his Death, but endeavouring to moderate his Favour, when he found himſelf perſecuted (67).

If notwithſtanding the Obſervation of all theſe Cautions, the Favourite ſhall fall into Diſgrace, his fall will be Glorious, he having liv'd without the little Fears, and the ſhameful Care of preſerving his Favour by methods below a generous Spirit, a torment much worſe than the diſgrace it ſelf. If there be any thing valuable in a Princes Favour, 'tis only the Glory of having merited his Eſteem; the Continuation of which is full of Cares and Dangers. And he is happieſt, who ſooneſt and with moſt Reputation quits it.

I have deſcrib'd, Royal Sir, the Practices of Favourites, but not how a Prince ought to comport himſelf to-

(67) *Inſtituta prioris potentiæ commutat, prohibet cœtus ſalutantium, ornat comitantes, rarus per Urbem, quaſi valetudine infenſa, aut ſapientiæ ſtudiis domi attineretur.* Tac. 14. ann.

wards

wards them, not ſuppoſing that he ought to have any, for though he muſt be allow'd to have more inclination to one than another, yet not ſo as to devolve all his Authority upon one perſon, from whom the people muſt expect Orders, Rewards and Puniſhments; for ſuch Favour is properly an Alienation from the Crown, and dangerous to the Government, even when Favour ſucceeds in the Election of the Subject, for neither will the people ſo readily obey, nor ſo awfully reſpect the Favourite as the Prince, nor is he ſo much concern'd for the welfare of the State, nor is he ſo immediately under the care of God as the Prince: So that though many of your Royal Highneſs's Anceſtors have had Favourites, who with much care and zeal (as we ſee at preſent) have endeavour'd to Act with the greateſt Integrity, yet have their attempts met with anſwerable Succeſs. Let not your Royal Highneſs be deceiv'd by the example of *France*, whoſe Territories we ſee indeed much enlarg'd by the Counſels of a Favourite, but not without detriment to the Kingdom, and prejudice to the Royal Prerogative. Whoever ſhall duely conſider the Perſecution of the Queen Mother, and Duke of *Orleans*; the Blood of *Monmorency* ſpilt, that of the Prior of *Vendoſme*, of *Paul Reny*, and of Monſieur *de Macraints*, the Impriſonment of the Duke of *Bulloign*, the Exactions and Oppreſſions of the Subjects, the Uſurpation of the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, the Leagues made with the *Dutch*, *Proteſtants* and *Swedes*, the Deſign upon *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, the Peace made at *Mouzon* without the knowledge of the Allies, the Curb impos'd upon the *Valtoline* and *Griſons*, the Succours ſent to *Scotland*, and the *Engliſh* Parliament, the Sieges of *Fontarabie*, St. *Omer*, *Thionville*, *Fornavent* and *Catelet*, the loſs of ſo many Soldiers at *Lovain*, *Tarragone*, *Perpignan*, *Salce*, *Valence* upon the *Po*, *Imbree* and *la Roque*, the retaking *Aire* and the *Baſs*. He, I ſay, who ſhall conſider theſe things, will find that all his meaſures were grounded upon Violence, and that his Favour was founded upon force; that the Sword ſo daring againſt the Perſons of Kings, has been timorous and cowardly againſt this Miniſter, that Fortune has favoured his Temerity, that he has ſucceeded by the ſame means he

ſhould

should have fail'd, whereas we have lost by the same methods we should have gain'd; a sure Sign that God prospered this Favourite for the Exercise of Christianity, and for our Chastisement, forestalling our Prudence, and confounding our Valour. Kingdoms destin'd to Ruin, fall by the same means they should be supported; thus the entrance into the *Adriatick* created Distrust, the Protection of *Mantua* Jealousie, the opposition at *Nivers* Wars, the Diversion, Expence, the Army in *Alsace* Rivals, the War for *Spain* Rebellions. At the Siege of *Casal* we lost an opportunity of putting an end to the War; the Counsel of Secretary *Passiers* to Prince *Thomas*, hindred the relief of *Turin* and triumph over *France*. The same thing happed at *Aire*, for a foolish piece of Formality, the News that was brought of the Siege of *Arras* made them omit the Care of relieving it. For a vain Scruple *D' Amvilliers* was not succoured, through Cowardize or Treachery, *Chapelle* surrendred. O Providence Divine! Whither tend such variety of Accidents, so different from their Causes? 'Tis not by chance that the Government of *Europe* is put into the hands of Favourites. God grant Success may answer the publick Prayers.

The End of the First Volume.

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